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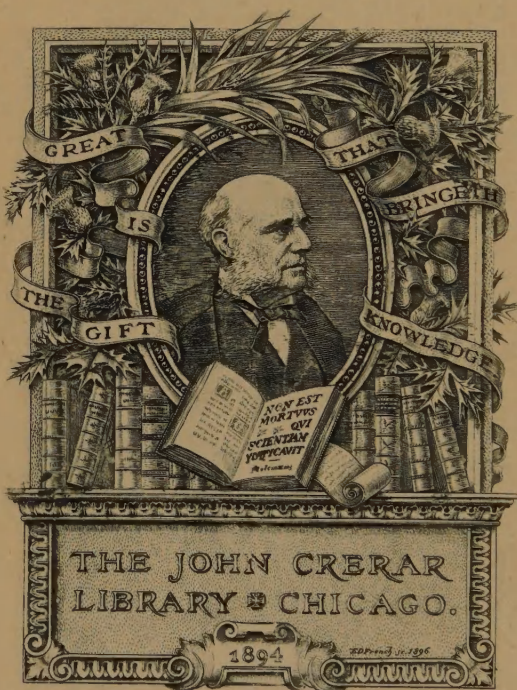
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# SOCIAL PROGRESS

A HANDBOOK

*of the*

LIBERAL MOVEMENT



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# SOCIAL PROGRESS

A HANDBOOK  
*of the*  
LIBERAL MOVEMENT



THE ARBITRATOR

114 East 31st Street  
NEW YORK CITY

1925

L. C.

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*To those who form conclusions from known  
facts and who wish to outlaw war, abolish  
poverty, unveil superstition and secure justice*

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## EXPLANATION

There are some books which one cannot read and remain the same person. To hope that this volume may be such an evolutionary agency is an ambition far beyond any reasonable expectation of fulfilment; but if the reader is herein confronted with conditions that have never before been appreciated, and is thereby impelled toward further investigation, the object will have been accomplished.

This Handbook summarizes actual conditions in the United States that are often overlooked—realities that every fair-minded person should take into account before committing himself to definite political opinions.

Those who are satisfied with the existing social order can truly testify to the great prosperity of this country and the favorable status of the workers compared with those in other parts of the world. This viewpoint is expressed in the majority of publications and can be offset against the facts herewith presented. There are good grounds for happiness. Are there equally valid causes for discontent?

To dissipate the gloom engendered by the long list of inequities in the following pages, conservatives may argue that the distressing conditions are natural concomitants of our civilization which may correct themselves in the course of time; while the liberal can rejoice over the ease with which unjust conditions may be eliminated if the privileged classes will yield but a trifle of their advantageous position.

There is no desire on the part of the editor to alter a single factor in the present social order unless its existence results in injustice. There is no wish to change anyone's opinion against his better judgment. There is no conscious attempt in this book at propaganda for any particular economic theory; no partiality towards any class of people. There is decided opposition to the overthrow of government by violence, to a dictatorship of any class, or to infringement of the Constitution of the United States. Whatever political and economic

changes are desirable may be effected by amending that document.

The intended Who's Who section has been omitted on account of protests from individuals who disliked classification for economic and other reasons.

The editor is responsible for the accuracy of all statements in this book, except where they are signed or quoted. The members of the Advisory Board, representing varied opinions, are no more liable for errors than the directors of a corporation, but are entitled to dividends of thanks for lending their authority to the enterprise.

WILLIAM FLOYD, Editor.

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# PART I

## CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

### Chapter I

#### THE PROFIT SYSTEM

#### Incomes and Cost of Living

One of the chief causes of discontent among citizens of this, the richest country in the world, arises from the inability of millions of workers to earn enough to provide a decent living for their families. Exceptional individuals may rise to affluence, but the proportion of those who can not secure a competence remains about the same—one-third to one-half the wage earners engaged in manufacturing and mining and a large number of agriculturists, according to the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

Royal S. Copeland, United States Senator from New York, showed his appreciation of the danger when he said: "You don't realize the amount of discontent in this country. It needs only leadership. I myself could go out and raise an army which would smash the community. So long as this discontent is grounded on criminal tendencies, of course I am against it, but in so far as it is based on the unreasonable attempts of those in authority to get labor at whatever they want to give, I am heartily in sympathy with it. . . . The men in high places do not inform themselves. . . . I am not in favor of a living wage; I am in favor of a wage which will give the workingman a few luxuries and a chance to let his children do better."

The Bureau of the Census estimated the population of the United States in July, 1924, as 112,078,611. The National Bureau of Economic Research estimated the population on January 1, 1925, as 114,311,000 and the total national income in 1919 at \$66,000,000,000, which figure they have not yet revised. Assuming the total income in 1925 to be \$70,000,000,000, there would be a per capita income of \$612, or apportioning the amount among the 64,000,000 adults only, each would have \$1,093, or among men only and the amount is \$2,121, or among the 42,000,000 workers and their income would be \$1,667 each.

An examination of statistics prepared by experts from various angles shows that *the income of the average worker is less than \$1,200, while the cost of living for the average American family is about \$2,000.* And as the man who attempted to cross

a stream whose average depth was one foot was drowned, so families having less than the average income go under or are over head and ears in debt.

### **Wages in various trades**

In large cities, due to the trades unions, skilled labor is paid \$8, \$10, \$12 and \$15 a day. These are the aristocrats of the labor world—a minority even of organized labor which comprises less than 3,800,000 of the 42,000,000 workers in the country.

The annual income of these men is not the daily income multiplied by 300, for many obstacles intervene, as will be seen later. In 1921 the Committee on the Elimination of Waste in Industry reported: "The building trade workman is busy on the average about 190 days the year, or two-thirds of his time."

The United States Department of Labor reported average wage rates in May, 1923, varying from 72.2 cents an hour for longshoremen to \$1.321 an hour for bricklayers. This means an income for the lowest paid man of \$1,154 if work is found for eight hours a day for 200 days, or \$1,733 if 300 days are worked and \$2,114 to \$3,170 for the high-priced man. This Department reported an average wage of \$1,300 for 1924.

The Department of Agriculture reports wages of farm hands, without board, as \$675 in 1919-20; \$779 in 1920-21; \$520 in 1921-22; \$501 in 1922-23 and \$563 in 1923-24. In two of these years farmers earned nothing on their capital, and in the last two years less than 2 per cent a year.

The N. Y. State Department of Labor reported average earnings in factories in January, 1925, as \$28.30 a week, which would mean an income of \$1,472 if work were continuous, or \$1,415 if work is found for an average of 50 weeks a year. In New York State women are paid about one-half as much as men, the average for men being \$31.37 and for women \$17.14 a week.

Wages in Illinois factories are slightly less than in New York.

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported the half-monthly wages of bituminous miners in 1921-22 as \$55.08 to \$99.50. The U. S. Geological Survey reported that bituminous miners lost 84 days in 1920 and 134 days in 1921.

The same Department found wages in the lumber industry, 1923, varied from \$675 to \$956 a year.



Post Office clerks were paid an average of \$1,554 in 1924, which President Coolidge said was \$200 more than in other Government Departments. In March, 1925, Congress passed a second bill, the first raise having been vetoed by the President, increasing the pay from \$1,400-\$1,700 to \$1,700-\$2,000. This the President signed.

1,830,000 railroad employees received from \$3.24 to \$7.43 a day in 1923, of whom 608,198 received less than \$4 a day. At least 389,494 received less than \$900 a year.

The average pay of railway men in 1923 was \$1,643.

The president of the Aluminum Co. of America, Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's company, stated during the 1924 political campaign that his company paid a daily wage of \$3.36.

Considering all classes of industry, the estimate of the National Bureau of Economic Research of the average earnings of workers in 1918 was \$1,078 and in 1921, \$1,117. Since then there have been occasional increases but many reductions. One of the last remarks of Samuel Gompers before his death, in December, 1924, was an appeal to labor to resist wage reductions.

The Department of Labor reported that in spite of increased employment aggregate wages were less in April, 1925, than in March.

### Real Wages

In October, 1924, the cost of living, according to the U. S. Department of Labor, was higher than in 1913 by various percentages ranging from 54.5 in Portland, Oregon, to 81.7 in Detroit, the increase in New York being 73.3. The average for 19 cities was 67 per cent.

On January 1, 1925, Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, said: "The average wage in industry has been stable during the last year and remains around 100 per cent above pre-war, while the cost of living has maintained almost exactly the same level at the end of each of the last three years, 1922, 1923, and 1924—about 72 per cent above pre-war. Our labor, therefore, continues to enjoy the highest real wage in its history."

From this it follows that now, when labor is more prosperous than ever, the worker who receives \$800 a year can buy only as much as with \$465 in normal times, and the average

wage of \$1,117 provides only as much as \$650 before the war, while the \$3,000 man can live only on a \$1,745 scale.

### Loss of Income

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that there are 2,453,418 industrial accidents every year in the United States, causing a loss of more than 225,000,000 working days and a wage loss of more than \$1,000,000,000.

The number of fatalities from accidents while working is over 20,000 a year. Some contractors have eliminated fifty per cent of the accidents by protective methods. Perhaps an additional 25 per cent could also be prevented.

The usual estimate of the average number of unemployed in the United States is 1,500,000, with the extreme of 5,000,000 in 1922; but a recent book issued by the Russell Sage Foundation reports a still more disastrous condition: "To conclude that, averaging good and bad years, from 10 to 12 per cent of all workers are idle all of the time is probably an understatement of the situation." The Foundation calculates the number gainfully employed as 42,000,000 and the wage and salaried workers as 31,000,000, so there are at least 3,000,000 workers unemployed at all times.

The report continues: "There is something which we are just beginning to recognize, a resentment on the part of the workers against an industrial situation in which such insecurity and uncertainty of employment are possible. It is not only unemployment but the fear of unemployment, the knowledge that any job is uncertain and insecure, subject to the fluctuations of economic change, which are responsible for much of our present industrial unrest."

Apart from idleness from lack of work, union men suffer from cessation of wages during strikes which they may or may not favor, but which are their chief defense against unfair conditions. Then there is loss from illness—about 8 days a year for each worker—during which time manual laborers are not paid as salaried workers are, though many diseases are the result of their occupations.

"The men and women are few who can long continue a search for work without developing a malignant inferiority complex. Nor can many who feel secure in positions confront an unemployed brother without secret recognition of their own superiority."—Stuart Rice, of Dartmouth College.

## Hours of Labor

Long hours have been a cause of discontent. Until a few years ago it was customary for men to be employed 12 hours a day, often 7 days a week with occasional 24 or even 36 hour shifts.

Legislation has done but little to limit hours for men, and the courts have obstructed many attempts to limit hours for women and children. (See "Unconstitutionality.")

The federal government has an eight-hour law, as have a number of states, for public work. For workers handling trains there is an almost universal restriction to sixteen hours for a day's work, to be followed by at least eight or ten hours of rest. Telegraphers may be restricted to eight hours. The Adamson Law established eight hours as a basic day for pay, but the men work longer for extra pay.

The labor unions have shortened hours in several trades, and public opinion has forced large corporations to discontinue the 12-hour day, with certain exceptions. Reduction in pay has followed the shortening of hours, except where the unions were strong.

Employers who have finally conceded shorter hours have found the change economically profitable.

The Ford Motor Company described its experience when the work-day was shortened: "A certain group of men working nine hours under the old system assembled 750 radiators. The same group working eight hours under the new plan assembled 1,300 radiators. A group of men working nine hours under the old plan turned out 38 fenders. Under the new, working eight hours, the same men turned out 50 fenders. A group of 65 men working nine hours under the old system turned out 800 gas tanks. Under the new, working eight hours, the 65 men turned out 1,200. Hours were reduced, wages increased and cost went down."

The Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. resisted for twenty years the attempt to shorten hours, but a letter from L. M. Bowers, chairman of the board of directors, to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., states that after they saw that legislation reducing hours was inevitable they tried out the eight-hour day and found that it was economically profitable.

Soon after the U. S. Steel Co. adopted the eight-hour day, which Judge Gary declared physically impossible and liable to wreck the business, extra dividends were declared.

### Budgets

In order to realize the difficulty experienced by many families in living on the incomes they are able to earn, it is important to prepare a budget for them. After eliminating those extravagant people who buy silk shirts and stockings and the best cuts of meat, the expenses of an average industrious family remain to be properly apportioned.

The U. S. Department of Labor has prepared a budget describing the minimum required for a "bottom level of health and decency below which a family can not go without danger of physical and moral deterioration." The items on the following list are from this federal report, but only the figures in the second column are official. The average American family consists of 4.9 people so is considered 5 in the Government report. The plight of larger families can be calculated. A saving of \$247 is possible in cases where "extreme thrift and high intelligence" are exercised.

The experts state that when a woman does the cooking, housecleaning, makes and repairs the children's clothing and does the marketing, she should have help with the laundry work. The item for cleaning supplies includes soap, toothbrushes, hair cuts, starch, borax, etc. The item "Incidentals" covers all the items opposite which there is no amount in the second column. Cents are here omitted.

In the following table the figures set opposite the items in all the columns but the second are arbitrary and may be changed to suit each investigator who is convinced that others spend their money foolishly. The first two columns alone are of importance in discovering the causes of discontent. Many more families have incomes approximating \$1,000 or \$2,000 than the figures given in the last 3 columns.



## Expenditures for Five Typical Families

	Col. 1	Col. 2	Col. 3	Col. 4	Col. 5
Food .....	\$450	\$774	\$1000	\$1200	\$3500
Clothing					
Husband .....	50	121	150	350	500
Wife .....	50	166	250	600	1500
Boy (11 yrs.) .....	20	97	100	100	500
Girl (5 yrs.) .....	10	83	90	100	600
Boy (2 yrs.) .....	10	47	60	60	300
Housing .....	240	300	1100	1800	10000
Fuel and light .....	45	128	100	120	250
Upkeep of house furn.....	5	70	150	350	800
Laundry work .....		104	250	360	1000
Cleaning supplies .....	15	33	100	150	350
Health .....	10	80	100	250	1200
Insurance					
Life .....		110	110	150	500
Fire .....		1	5	10	25
Carfare					
Husband .....	30	30	50	75	100
Wife and children ....	5	15	50	50	100
Amusements .....	15	20	130	300	1500
Newspapers .....		8	8	15	40
Organizations					
Church .....	5	13	25	100	500
Labor or clubs .....		10	20	50	800
Incidentals .....	40	52			
Taxes .....			50	250	8500
Savings .....			100	300	5000
Books and magazines ....			15	50	185
Presents .....			20	100	1000
Charity .....			20	200	1000
Wages .....			600	2300	5000
Umbrellas, etc. ....			10	10	50
Tobacco .....			10	10	100
Telephone .....			42	50	250
Education .....			55	200	400
Stationery and postage....			20	40	150
Vacations .....			100	100	800
Automobiles .....			110	200	3500
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1000	\$2262	\$5000	\$10000	\$50000

Other budgets have been made by various organizations. The Labor Bureau, Inc., estimated the cost for an average family in 1923 in ten cities, ranging from \$1,995 in Schenectady to \$2,581 in Los Angeles, a New York family requiring \$2,256.

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research estimated the cost in 1920 as \$1,988.

The National Industrial Conference Board's estimate was \$1,144.79 in 1922 while the New York State Factory Conference regarded \$1,251.34 as necessary in Buffalo.

At the same time the U. S. Railroad Labor Board reduced wages of 250,028 men below \$900.

Minimum of subsistence figures have been questioned on the ground that families *are* living on much less than the minimum stated by experts to be essential. That is true, but when a hard-working man can not earn enough to provide even necessities, and sees his family undernourished through no fault of his, he is apt to become discontented.

The U. S. Children's Bureau has discovered that the chance of survival is less among poorly nourished families than when incomes are sufficient for decent living.

An argument in favor of paying men less than the minimum required for a family is made on the ground that other members of the family are bread winners. Often that is so, but it is disadvantageous for the young children to work, and for fifteen years after marriage the mother of small children is unable to add greatly to the support of the family. The father's earnings, whether \$800 or \$2,000 are often the sole means of support for families of one to ten children. Is it reasonable to expect a family having less than \$1,500 a year to be contented?

See "American Labor Year Book" and "Labor Problems and Labor Legislation."

### Distribution of Wealth

In 1864 Abraham Lincoln said:

"As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel, at this moment, more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless."

The National City Bank shows the wealth of the United States — \$320,803,862,000, in 1922, according to the Census Bureau—to be greater than the combined wealth of Great Brit-

ain, Canada, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, China, Argentina and Brazil.

In 1916 the Commission on Industrial Relations published the estimate of Willford I. King:

"The 'rich,' 2 per cent of the people, own 60 per cent of the wealth. The 'middle class,' 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth. The 'poor', 65 per cent of the people, own 5 per cent of the wealth."

Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew commented:

"You will see that 65 per cent of the people own 5 per cent of the wealth and that 2 per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the wealth. They did not produce the wealth. (It was all produced by the 65 per cent of the population who have nothing.) They were able to do it because they owned the government, and the courts enacted the laws which made it possible. They have done it through manipulation, combination and exploitation. They have done it through corporations. They have done it because they own the railroads and the banks and all the public utilities, and used them all—all of these great important public service institutions in order to gather the products of everybody's toil into their hands. In other words, they have stolen what others produced."

The National City Bank gave this estimate of the expectations of American citizens in 1922. "Statistics show that of 100 people 25 years old, 54 will be dependent upon others at 65; 36 will be dead, many of them for want of attention that money would have secured; 5 will be working for a meagre living; 4 of them will be well-to-do and 1 will be independent. Out of the entire 100, only 5 will be in satisfactory circumstances."

According to statements by Dr. Louis I. Dublin, statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, at a recent industrial conference, the life expectation of industrial workers is eight years less than that of office workers.

The Treasury Department reports that 6,787,481 personal income returns were filed for 1922, of which 3,914,224 showed incomes over \$2,000 and 2,873,257 incomes of \$2,000 or less.

There were 7,698,321 returns in 1923.

Allowing for failure to make returns, for personal exemptions, and ownership of tax exempt securities, it is evident that a great number of the 62,000,000 adults in the country have

incomes of less than \$1,000 a year. This is partly due to the fact that 18,000,000 women work at home without compensation.

### How Fortunes Are Made

The possession by one man of greater capital or income than another is not in itself a valid cause for discontent. The educated, able, industrious business man is entitled to more compensation than the uneducated laborer, and very little envy or unrest is caused by success legitimately and righteously obtained. It is the accumulation of unearned profits, illegally or even legally acquired, and the disproportionate returns received from different sorts of service, compared with equally valuable labor, that arouse discontent in the breasts of the unsuccessful and create dissatisfaction of a dangerous sort.

The men who have engineered the transactions recorded in the following brief summary are among the most respected citizens in the country and they themselves honestly believe in their own integrity. They are prominent in church and society, are often good husbands and fathers, and have no conception of the havoc wrought by their manipulations. The public is ignorant, too. There is a general suspicion that money is made too fast, but there is entire lack of comprehension of the effects of seemingly harmless enterprises. The operations of financiers are not recognized as the cause of the unhappiness that is only too evident.

Investigation reveals that practically every transaction by which financiers reap an undue profit influences disadvantageously the economic status of the worker and the welfare of the public. William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, said, in 1924, "Wall Street has dominated the Treasury and the reserve system. Whenever that power is dominant, the true interests of the people suffer."

In addition to vast profits distributed in stock dividends, the fluctuation in market value of securities often produces great wealth in a short time. During three months in 1922 the holdings of one family in one stock increased in value \$32,812,500. General Motors stock increased \$51,346,475 in eight days around the first of April, 1922. After the election of 1924 there was an increase in value of securities in three months estimated at six billion dollars.

Another method of obtaining wealth easily is through fees charged by bankers and lawyers. Every refunding of railroad bonds, every reorganization or merger of existing corporations, every underwriting of loans provides a possible field for enormous profits. In December, 1924, the Interstate Commerce Commission criticized the bankers' fees of \$1,000,000 taken by Kuhn, Loeb & Co., W. A. Harriman & Co. and Blair & Co. on the purchase by the Missouri Pacific of the New Orleans, Texas & Mexico Railway. The New York Times pointed out that the bankers also made a net profit of \$2,000,000 from the transaction, which the bankers justified by the risk taken in financing the operation. In financing the New York subways the three promoting companies took \$5,100,000 as a commission for forming the syndicate without assuming the liability for selling the \$170,000,000 worth of bonds.

Standards become inflated among those accustomed to large incomes. Justice Cohalan resigned from the Supreme Court of New York in 1924 because the salary of \$17,500 a year was insufficient to support his family. Mrs. James Stillman requested the court to grant her \$123,380 a year for living expenses. Testimony was presented to the Interstate Commerce Commission to justify the payment to a good lawyer of \$500 a day for his services. He might also be transacting other business during those days.

When Congress raised the pay of its members in March, 1925, from \$7,500 to \$10,000 a year, it did not take a record vote so that the constituents of the individuals could not tell how their representatives had voted. Many Congressmen have additional income from business or investments.

### Salaries

Banks, insurance companies and other corporations pay salaries as high as \$150,000 a year. The receiver of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific R. R. received \$120,732.90 for his services in 1917. This same road secretly paid J. E. Gorman \$18,750 a year, making his compensation \$43,750, whereas the payroll showed \$25,000. General solicitor R. A. Jackson was given \$100,000 in cash on his retirement. Daniel G. Reid of this company testified that the large salaries were justifiable but that wages had sapped the financial strength of the railway.



The Railway Age commented: "While to a man who is receiving an income of perhaps \$1,000 to \$3,000 a year, salaries of \$30,000 to \$100,000 may seem very large, the fact is that the incomes which railway officers have enjoyed in proportion to the amount of energy and ability they have devoted to their work have been much smaller than the incomes made by men of corresponding rank in other lines of industry."

Salaries of Standard Oil officials were disclosed in 1922, in the report of the federal Committee on Manufactures on "High Cost of Gasoline and Other Petroleum Products."

Two officers of the New Jersey Company received \$125,000 a year each; four, \$100,000 each; one, \$85,000; five, \$50,000; two, \$30,000 each; one, \$25,000.

Of the Indiana Company's officers, two received \$100,000 each.

The president of the Standard Oil Co. of California received \$100,000 and three more officers received \$60,000 or over each.

In the Federal Reserve Bank seven men received salaries of \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year, being raised from much smaller salaries in a few years, one from \$3,000 to \$22,000 in seven years.

In 1920 Representative Thetus W. Sims reported that in 1917, two hundred railroad officials received \$20,000 a year or over, of whom twenty-nine received \$50,000 or over. Twenty-three of the Pennsylvania Railroad's officials and attorneys received salaries of \$681,960, whereas the twenty-three highest paid Government officials received but \$345,500.

L. F. Loree received \$75,000 a year as president of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad and in one year an additional bonus of \$450,000. Later the Kansas City Southern paid him \$30,825 and the Delaware & Hudson \$50,800 a year at the same time. He was also director of 53 other corporations. When the Railroad Labor Board reduced wages of the men, in 1922, below \$900 a year, Mr. Loree urged a further reduction on the ground that other employers could obtain men for less than \$600 a year. He also claimed that the 5¾ per cent established by the Interstate Commerce Commission as a fair return for the owners of the roads was too small.

### **Excess Profits Tax**

The War Revenue Act of October 3, 1917, provided for a tax on business above the pre-war profits, and when those could not be ascertained, the profit was conceded to be 8 per cent on the capital invested. A further deduction of \$3,000 to \$6,000 was also allowed. On the excess above 8 per cent, a tax of 20 per cent to 60 per cent was imposed, graded according to percentage of profits.

Business interests rebelled against a tax on their profits above 8 per cent, and Senator Reed endeavored to satisfy them by proposing to allow 15 per cent profits without tax. That was voted down in Congress and he then proposed a tax above 50 per cent profits, but that did not quell the demand for repeal, which was accomplished on January 1, 1922. Representative Charles L. Underhill proposed a sales tax to be paid by all consumers instead of confiscation of wealth by surtaxes.

Under the profit system the temptation to break or evade the law appears to be too strong to be resisted, especially by corporations. The average investor is well satisfied to net six or seven per cent on his capital, but large financial interests oppose any limitation of profits. Here are a few examples of the practices of prominent financiers:

### **Federal Reserve System**

In 1912 the Pujo Committee reported to Congress that the 5 great New York and Boston banks investigated had been combining unlawfully to control finances for their own profits. In 1913, through the secret influences of the same banks, the Federal Reserve law was passed by Congress and ten Federal Reserve Banks were given legally more complete control than the guilty five had enjoyed, though in the recent election the platform had contained a plank in accord with the Pujo report against central banking. The Federal Reserve banks are uncontrolled private corporations paying profits not to the U. S. Treasury, but to the private banks that are their stockholders. Salaries and housing are extravagant.

Without taking formal action, the Federal Reserve precipitated the Farmers' panic of 1920, by merely "advising" bankers to call farm loans and refuse further credit to farmers, when enough farmers had to sell at any terms to demoralize the market. Business men, including bankers, individually and collec-

tively are equally endangered by these central bankers, along with those whom they employ. Files of the Federal Reserve included detailed reports made by member banks on the affairs of private citizens doing business, and credit can be refused arbitrarily.

Another danger to which the Federal Reserve exposes this nation is international, for it is similar to the Bank of England and involved American finance with that of London long before we entered the war. The Bank of England also is an uncontrolled private corporation paying profits to its stockholders, and these great banks are doubly dangerous because the private individuals who control and profit by them also, through interlocking directors, control the great business corporations that profiteer in war.

Reform of our Money System should begin with our Federal Reserve, which should be a part of the Fiscal Department of the Government, controlling all issues of notes and metals, rates of interest, exchange and discount. All profits should be paid into the Treasury, all persons benefiting privately should be excluded from the Board, and a system of truly National Postal Savings Departments should be developed in connection, not feeders of private banks or makers of private profit, checking against deposits should be permitted, and deposits should be lent at a low rate and conservatively.

A successful precedent for all of these reforms is seen in the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, with Postal Savings in connection, established in 1912 by the Labor Government. The profits on these banks are rapidly paying public debts, the currency has been unified, employees are well paid and pensioned. Australian notes are full legal tender and gold is used only for reserve and foreign trade. This last is particularly important and should be adopted in our law at once, for our "gold clause" endangers our whole system. There is not gold enough in the world to satisfy our possible private demands, and the Treasury itself can be bankrupted.

CORNELIA STEKETEE HULST.

J. A. H. Hopkins, founder of the Committee of 48, says that a "dominant group of bankers are in complete control of the Federal Reserve System and have diverted this system from its original purpose, so that instead of being a govern-

ment system of banks operated by the government for the purpose of preventing panics and profiteering, it is on the contrary used by Wall Street to alternately foment and "check" panics and to maintain what is practically a continuous orgy of profiteering."

### Stock Dividends

When the U. S. Supreme Court rendered its decision regarding the taxability of stock dividends as income, able reporters in court telegraphed their papers the opinion at the first possible moment. They understood the Court to say that stock dividends were taxable as income. A panic seized Wall Street. Shortly it was discovered that what the reporters mistook for an opinion was the preliminary verbiage of the judges who really ruled that stock dividends need not be included in incomes. Up bounded stocks after millions had been lost.

During 1922, over \$2,328,000,000 was distributed in the form of stock dividends—all to the holders of stock, not to the workers who were also interested in the affairs of the various corporations. Dividends have subsequently been paid on this new stock that cost the owners nothing.

A few of the dividends reported in the papers were.

Standard Oil Co. of Kansas, 300 per cent; Atlantic Refining Co., 900 per cent; Standard Oil Co. of New York, 200 per cent; Yale & Towne Co., 100 per cent; Evening News Association, Detroit, 19,900 per cent; Browne Sharpe Mfg. Co., Providence, 16,000 per cent; New Bedford Cotton Mills Co., 200 per cent; Standard Oil Co. of N. J., 400 per cent.

The Standard Oil Co. of Indiana paid 2,900 per cent stock dividends in 1912, 150 per cent in 1920 and 100 per cent in 1922.

Dividends declared in stock not only escape taxation but tend to reduce the market price of the entire stock issue, thus avoiding the public indignation that follows when a stock sells at several thousand dollars a share, or when enormous cash dividends are paid.

### Speculation

Buying non-investment shares of stock with the idea of realizing a profit on a resale is often called speculation, but the term is more usually applied to the process of buying on a margin or selling short.

The customer deposits cash or securities with his broker as a margin or partial payment; then buys many times the amount of stock his deposit would pay for outright, borrowing the balance of the cost from the broker who, in turn, hypothecates his customer's securities at his own bank. Or if the customer sells short, the broker borrows the stock and delivers it to the purchaser. At some later time the customer buys the stock in the open market to deliver to his broker, making a profit if the price has dropped. At the time of the Northern Pacific corner, the price of that stock rose from 77 to 1,000 as it was so difficult to find stock to deliver. In 1923 the price of Piggly-Wiggly stock rose so sharply that the exchange gamblers were caught, and, to prevent further loss, the Exchange struck the stock off the list.

By margin speculation the profit or loss for the speculator is many times greater than if the securities were paid for in full. The greater risk is shown by an example given by the Wall Street Iconoclast: "A person who purchased 100 shares of Standard Oil of New Jersey 15 years ago at the price which then ruled on the New York Curb, namely \$500 a share, costing a total of \$50,000, and has retained that stock to this date, along with all the dividends in integers, subsidiaries and money, can collect today in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000 for his holdings. In those 15 years these Standard Oil securities have fluctuated in value to such an extent that tens of thousands of persons have lost their entire fortunes in gambling in them on a marginal basis."

The customary margin is 10 to 15 per cent of the cost of the stock. The customer seldom sees the certificates of the stock purchased, which stand in the broker's name. If the market drops, the broker demands more margin, and if it is not forthcoming he sells the customer out. Speculation is approved by the New York Stock Exchange which also eulogizes the Board members who trade for their own account as "essential to the well being of the country." Many members of the Stock Exchange make their chief profits from the speculation of their customers or themselves.

According to the Pujo Committee, speculation carried on by the people of small means and experience "involves a practical certainty of loss to those who engage in it." Manipula-



tion of prices up or down—the creation of a false appearance of activity—is an important phase of speculation.

The reason for losses even when dealing with substantial brokers is explained by Franklin C. Keyes, author of "Wall Street Speculation; Its Tricks and Its Tragedies": "No one is in a position to know anything about the future course of the stock market except those connected with the large banking interests, the officers and directors of the corporations whose stocks and bonds are traded in on the New York Stock Exchange, the pool managers or operators and the largest brokerage houses. This constitutes the faction known as the 'insiders,' or as 'underground Wall Street', and while the market is of course governed considerably by general conditions, these people, through their vast interests, are large factors in creating and forcing conditions, and they virtually control and manipulate the game and direct the course of the market's fluctuations as they please: or, if, in any event, the market is beyond control, they are in a position to turn quickly with it, in advance of the public."

From the Iconoclast again: "Every financial crisis of magnitude of the past 51 years has caught the margin trader unawares in much the same way. The years 1873, 1893, 1899, 1907 and 1908 are almost as memorable as 1914. . . . Hovering European storm clouds, some of which already had broken, carried the prices of stocks down on July 31, 1914, on the New York Stock Exchange, on an average of from \$1 to \$23 a share. The stocks had already declined during the few days previous on an average of about \$10 a share. . . . At the end of that day the Stock Exchange shut down and remained closed until November 28. . . .

"The stock exchanges are without governmental supervision and members are subject to no banking laws. . . . Not less than two billions of dollars are annually wheedled and filched from the public by the law-entrenched margineers. . . .

"Efforts to bring the exchanges under governmental control have signally failed. The Iconoclast advocates that these efforts cease and that, in the interest of all citizens and the progress of all sections of the country, there be established by the U. S. Government a new great primary securities market in New York, under Government control, and also one by each

of the states in the largest city of each state. . . . Laws should be enacted to make it illegal for a broker to borrow in his own name and for his own account at the banks on securities purchased for customers. . . ."

Most speculators never see the plants of the companies they are buying into, but deal in stocks without any feeling of obligation as owners of the business. The management of the corporation, however, can obtain their proxies to control the policies of the company. Jesse H. Livermore testified before the Federal Trade Commission that he had bought and sold millions of bushels of wheat but would not know wheat from oats if he saw them growing.

In November and December, 1923, there were 1,800,000 shares of Southern States Oil sold, of which 1,600,000 were wash sales—the stock being bought by the same person who sold it, a former Governor of Oklahoma.

### **New York Stock Exchange**

This exchange is an association of 1,100 members who form their own rules for transacting the largest business in the sale of securities in the world. The initiation fee is \$2,000. No member is permitted to trade with the Consolidated Exchange, or even communicate with its members by telephone, the purpose of this boycott being, according to the former president of the Exchange, to drive the Consolidated out of business. Securities engraved by companies not approved by the Exchange are not dealt in, including certain issues of New York City bonds. Stocks are at times removed from the list in such a way as to damage stockholders in the interests of voting trusts.

These statements are from the report of the Pujo investigating committee, which said: "Only a small part of the transactions upon the Exchange is of an investment character; a substantial part may be characterized as virtually gambling."

The following recommendations were made: (a) The Exchange should be incorporated. (b) Publicity should be given the affairs of the companies listed. (c) A margin of 20 per cent should be required. (d) Simultaneous orders to buy and sell from the same party should be prohibited. (e) Prohibit the hypothecation of securities for a greater amount than the sum loaned to customers. (f) Stop lending the securities of

customers. (g) The charters should specify on what conditions securities will be listed or removed. (h) Members should keep books of account.

See Report 1593, 62nd Congress, 3rd Session.

In July, 1925, a seat on the Exchange sold for \$122,000.

### **Bucket Shops**

A bucket shop differs from a legitimate stockbroker's office in that the proprietor does not actually buy the stocks ordered by his customer but merely enters the transaction on his books as if he had bought them. His interests are sometimes opposed to success for his client. The New York Stock Exchange is endeavoring to reduce the activities of these rivals who, with the promoters of fraudulent securities, mulct the people of \$250,000,000 a year.

Mr. Keyes advances the theory that the real contributors of libraries and other benefactions are not the millionaires who make the donation, but the people whose money has been taken in the accumulation of the vast fortunes.

Another view of stock speculation is given by Seymour L. Cromwell, former president of the New York Stock Exchange, who says that it is proper to buy on margin and sell short provided one deals with a member of the New York Stock Exchange only and has plenty of money.

### **Watered Stock**

District Attorney Banton has urged the adoption of an anti-bucketing bill, but says that the New York Stock Exchange is always against any such legislation. "Of \$116,000,000 of liabilities of failing brokers, more than one-half of that amount were liabilities of former members of the New York Stock Exchange." The Department of Justice says that the promoters of fraudulent investments have taken \$3,000,000,000 from the public since the war.

In spite of recent restrictions there is but slight, if any, legal obstacle to the issuance of stock in excess of the actual value of the property of a corporation. At the time of incorporation, or of a merger, the future is discounted and stock issued as a bonus, or under par, that represents no real present value.

There is a saying in Wall Street that when the U. S. Steel Co. was incorporated the preferred stock represented water and

the common stock wind. After years of success the stock has been bought by actual investors who naturally consider themselves entitled to as large a return as the directors can declare. The original promoters, by the printing and engraving of certificates to represent what they believed, or claimed, to be the possibility of their combination, have reaped millions in profits in addition to the normal return on their investment. Capital acquires the entire unearned increment; labor gets none of it.

Public utility companies are now often prevented from watering their stock, or from earning undue profits, but the liberality of the construction of the limitations is shown by the decision of the Special Master, who reported to the Federal Court, in December, 1924, that the law passed by the New York legislature setting a dollar rate for 1,000 cubic feet of gas was confiscatory. The decision gives the Consolidated Gas Co. permission to charge a higher rate than that set by the legislature in order that it may earn 8 per cent on the present valuation of its property. The company has recently given stockholders two shares of no-par-value stock for each share of \$100 stock.

Famous examples of speculation are the Northern Pacific corner when the stock rose from 77 to 1,000, and the Stutz Motors corner engineered by Allan A. Ryan. Mr. Ryan used money made during the war to purchase practically every share of Stutz Motors, the price rising from 100¾ on February 13, 1920 to \$391 on March 31. Then the Stock Exchange took the stock off the list and expelled Ryan. A private settlement was made at \$550 a share, and although bid up to \$700 on the outside market, Ryan could not dispose of the stock and found that the loan value was only \$18 a share. He failed for \$32,000,000, many prominent trust companies losing heavily.

Another instance was when John W. Gates bought all the stock of Louisville & Nashville R. R. that was offered from 105 to 133 until he had control. Then as the New York Times put it, "Gates, being an experienced poker expert, played his hand adroitly. He gave out grave interviews, stating his purpose to go into the railroad business seriously, to build up the property, and in general to make the Louisville his own. This attractive plan was not entirely disposed of until the elder J. P. Morgan himself put on the screws with his well known vigor, virtually compelled Gates to sell his shares (at a profit of \$1,000,000 or

more) and turned the Louisville over to a joint financial alliance with the Atlantic Coast Line."

### **Pujo Investigation (62nd Congress)**

This committee discovered that 18 financial institutions were affiliated through a system of interlocking directorates with trust companies, transportation systems, public utility companies, holding 385 directorships in banks, 50 in insurance companies, 155 in railroads, 98 in trading companies, 48 in public utilities, etc. Altogether, 746 directorates in 134 companies having resources of \$25,325,000,000. "It was impossible to learn the identity of the corporations, owing to the unwillingness of the members of the inner group to disclose the names of their underwriters."

Interlocking financial directorates were made illegal by the Clayton Act, but the formal compliance with the law has not changed the "communities of interest."

It was publicly announced that no money trust had been discovered.

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Corporations claim that they cannot pay higher wages and continue dividends, but those dividends are frequently paid on watered stock, and business methods are wasteful.

The late Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina testified: "It is self-evident that whoever owns or controls the consolidated coal mines, water power and railroads—the fuel, the lights and the transportation—of the country is the master of its people. . . . There are over two hundred fortunes in this country estimated at over 50 or 100 millions each—one of them is as high as 1,800 millions—and many annual incomes exceeding \$5,000,000 each. Not one of these could have been accumulated except out of the enormous profits derived from public utilities. These enormous fortunes control politics, furnish the means of filling legislatures, Congress and public offices of all kinds with the agents of special privilege, and to execute the orders of predatory wealth. . . . They corrupt public life, destroy equality and debauch morality and public opinion by systematic propaganda."

### **Evasion of Taxes**

There are \$14,000,000,000 worth of securities the income from which is exempt from the federal income tax and from some other taxes. These are especially responsible for the drop in the number of large incomes reported. In 1916, 206 people reported incomes



of \$1,000,000 a year or over, but by 1921 the number had dropped to 21, rising to 67 in 1922, and 86 in 1923.

Individuals are permitted to incorporate themselves and charge against their income many items of business account which would be improper for a person to deduct from his federal tax. Certain taxes on property owned in other States are also avoided by this method known as a "corporation sole." The tax on a corporation's income is  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ .

Examples of escape from taxes have been disclosed by the publication in 1924 for the first time of the federal returns. John D. Rockefeller paid only \$124,266, while John D. Rockefeller, Jr. paid \$7,435,169, showing a transfer of property to the younger man and the probable postponement of inheritance taxes. In 1917 one man, presumably John D. Rockefeller, paid \$34,936,604. Harry F. Sinclair, who has been prominent for the payment of huge sums to further his business projects, paid an income tax of less than \$500 in 1923.

### EXAMPLES OF THE PROFIT SYSTEM

#### N. Y., New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co.

The New Haven system has more than 300 subsidiary corporations in a web of entangling alliances with each other, many of which are *seemingly planned, created, and manipulated by lawyers expressly retained for the purpose of concealment or deception.*

The subject matter of this inquiry relates to the financial operation of a railroad system which on June 30, 1903 had a total capitalization of approximately \$93,000,000. In the 10 years from June 30, 1903, this capitalization was increased from \$93,000,000 to \$417,000,000, an increase of \$324,000,000. The financial operations necessary for these acquisitions, and the losses which they have entailed, have been skillfully concealed by the juggling of money and securities from one subsidiary corporation to another.

Marked features in the loose, extravagant, and improvident administration of the finances of the New Haven as shown in this investigation, are the Boston & Maine despoilment; the iniquity of the Westchester acquisition; the double price paid for the Rhode Island trolleys; the practice of financial legerdemain in issuing large blocks of New Haven stock and manipulating these securities

back and forth; extensive use of a paid lobby; the attempt to control utterances of the press by subsidizing reporters; payment of money and the profligate issue of free passes to legislators and their friends; the investment of \$400,000 in securities of a New England newspaper; the regular employment of political bosses; the story of Mr. Mellen as to the distribution of \$1,200,000 for corrupt purposes; the domination of all the affairs of this railroad by Mr. Morgan and Mr. Mellen and the absolute subordination of other members of the board of directors to the will of these two; the indefensible standard of business ethics and the absence of financial acumen displayed by eminent financiers in directing the destinies of this railroad in its attempt to establish a monopoly of the transportation of New England.

The Westchester R. R., 18 miles only, in which Directors J. P. Morgan, Sr., William Rockefeller, and some promoters who were their friends, were interested, was unloaded by them on the railroad company at over \$2,000,000 per mile, at a meeting kept secret from the rest of the board of directors. This property proved to be more than worthless, having been operated at a loss of over \$1,000,000 annually.

In the organization of one of the steamship companies the young lady stenographer was made president; and a youth of 21 years of age by the name of Grover Cleveland Richards was selected as treasurer of another company. The evidence showed that he signed checks as high as \$3,000,000 each, without being told what they were for.

The monopoly theory of those controlling the New Haven was unsound and mischievous. To achieve such monopoly meant the reckless and scandalous expenditure of money; it meant the attempt to control public opinion; corruption of government; the attempt to pervert the political and economical instincts of the people in insolent defiance of law. Through exposure of the methods of this monopoly the invisible government which has gone far in its efforts to dominate New England has been made visible. It has been clearly proven how public opinion was distorted; how officials who were needed and who could be bought were bought; how a college professor and publicist secretly accepted money from the New Haven while masking as a representative of a great American university and as the guardians of the interests of the people; how agencies of information to the public were prostituted

wherever they could be prostituted, in order to carry out a scheme of private transportation monopoly, imperial in its scope.

ALBERT M. TODD.

*President of the Public Ownership League of America.*

For additional details, see his statement to the Interstate Commerce Commission, Government Printing Office, Feb. 21, 1919.

### **Railroads in General**

J. A. H. Hopkins of the National Bureau of Information, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, has published a pamphlet in which he states that the railroads appropriated through trickery about 200,000,000 acres of land "containing large deposits of coal, ore and other natural resources. They deliberately stole these lands, capitalized them, and borrowed from the purchasers of their bonds and stocks vast sums of money which they appropriated to their own use and which they have never yet repaid. . . ." "These separate corporations were brought under the same control by an elaborate system of interlocking directorates through which, as frankly admitted by the railway executives, not more than 25 men control our productive resources, our channels of distribution, and our banking facilities."

In describing the almost universal practice of watering stock, Mr. Hopkins gives an example: "The projectors of the South Pennsylvania Railroad started to build a road to compete with the Pennsylvania Railroad. . . . A responsible contractor offered to build and equip this railroad for \$6,500,000, but a contract was made with a "paper" construction company to do the same work for \$15,000,000 to be furnished by a syndicate of capitalists from New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, but it is asserted that they never invested more than \$10,000,000 and in return received the securities aggregating \$40,000,000. They then sold out to the Pennsylvania Railroad, deserting the men who had put their money into the project in good faith for the purpose of securing a competing line. . . ."

Three methods have been proposed for valuing the railroads: (a) the cost of reproduction today, which the railroad executives claim would be \$30,000,000,000; (b) the original cost up to date, which public ownership advocates figure as \$12,000,000,000; (c) the market valuation, which would be about \$13,000,000,000. The Interstate Commerce Commission placed

the value at \$18,900,000,000. "With the exception of one small issue of C. B. & Q. bonds which matured and were paid off in February, 1922, there seems to be no record of any railroad bonds which have ever been retired."

"The issuing of bonds for refunding purposes is a continuous and exceedingly profitable business for the bankers controlling the railroads, who derive a steady income of millions of dollars from the large commissions and underwriting profits which they are paid for handling these issues."

Senator La Follette stated in his magazine shortly before his death that there have been 700 railroad failures in the last 30 years under private ownership.

The net income of the railroads in 1924 was \$987,133,650.

#### The Standard Oil Co.

(From Scott Nearing's "Oil and the Germs of War.")

"John D. Rockefeller and a number of his associates set up one of the most important landmarks in the economic history of the United States when they organized the Standard Oil Company in 1870. The business atmosphere of the time was dominated by the idea of competition—the common assumption being that competition was not only inevitable, but that it was "the life of trade."

Mr. Rockefeller held a different view. His ideal was a large, well organized, efficiently managed industrial unit, based on the principle of co-operation rather than of competition, and from his first investment in an oil refinery in 1862, through the organization of the Standard Oil Company, and during the succeeding years, Mr. Rockefeller did his best to get his potential competitors to come inside and share the benefits of joint effort . . . and acting on this principle, within ten years he had under Standard Oil control more than nine tenths of the oil refining business of the country.

The position of the Standard Oil Co. was rendered still more secure by its control of the pipe lines through which the oil was transported, by its rebate contracts with the railroads, by its ruthless wars on stubborn competitors, and by the very efficient way in which its business affairs were conducted.

Standard Oil profits were large from the outset. A number of government investigations show that between 1882 and 1906 the total of cash dividends paid by the company was \$551 millions, which was an average of 24 per cent per year on the

outstanding stock. In addition to the dividends, there were surpluses that made the total profit account for the period about \$714 millions.

Standard Oil quickly became one of the masters of American public life, and those who questioned its sway or crossed its path made a quick exit from public office. Public investigations followed attacks by private "muck-rakers" and so insistent was the public demand for action that on May 11, 1911, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decree declaring the Standard Oil Co. a trust in restraint of trade, and ordering its dissolution into a number of constituent companies, such as the Standard of New Jersey, the Standard of Indiana, and the like. The events that followed throw an interesting side-light on the relative power of the Supreme Court and of Standard Oil.

Standard Oil stock, at the time of the Supreme Court decree, had a paper value of about \$98 millions. During the next ten years, the entire cash and stock dividends paid by the "dissolved" companies (The Standard Oil Properties, as they are now called) had a market value, in 1921, of \$1,833 millions—more than eighteen times the capital value of the property ten years before. The market value of the stock of the dissolved companies in 1921 was \$3,276 millions, or about 35 times the capital value in 1911. Then, too, the volume of dividends has been steadily mounting year after year.

This is merely the profit side of the problem. The really significant development is the widespread control exercised by the Standard interests over the productive machinery of the United States and of the world. This matter has recently been covered in great detail, and the results published in the "Hearings on the High Cost of Gasoline" conducted before the United States Senate Committee on Manufactures.

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Ida M. Tarbell, in "The History of the Standard Oil Company," reported that "the Standard Oil Company, through the American Transfer Company, received in addition to rebates on its own shipments, twenty to thirty-five cents drawback a barrel on all crude oil which was sent over the trunk lines by other people as well as by itself.

"There is no gaming table in the world where loaded dice are tolerated, no athletic field where men must not start fair. Yet Mr. Rockefeller has systematically played with loaded dice, and



it is doubtful if there has ever been a time since 1872 when he has run a race with a competitor and started fair. Business played in this way loses all its sportsman-like qualities. It is fit only for tricksters.

"In many of the great State Legislatures one of the first persons to be pointed out to a visitor is the Standard Oil lobbyist. Now, no one can dispute the right of the Standard Oil Company to express its opinions on proposed legislation. It has the same right to do this as all the rest of the world. It is only the character of its opposition which is open to criticism, the fact that it is always fighting measures which equalize privileges and which make it more necessary for men to start fair and play fair in doing business."

### The U. S. Steel Corporation

This company was organized in 1901 by the amalgamation of a dozen corporations, and has since acquired railroads, ship-building plants and coal mines. The total par value of the shares and bonds of the companies acquired at the date of the merger was \$881,720,994. In exchange for these, the new corporation issued a total of stocks and bonds with a par value of \$1,192,146,703. The additional \$310,425,709 did not represent any actual cash or new machinery or buildings. The incorporators received a fee of \$78,000,000, according to Arthur Train. The Government attempted to prove the combination a violation of the Sherman Anti-trust Act, but the U. S. Supreme Court rendered a decision, in 1920, in favor of the corporation.

Dividends (now 7%) are paid on the outstanding common stock of \$508,302,500 (this figure is greater than the preceding estimate of "water" because the shares of the separate companies represented more than the original investment) which represented no value at the time of incorporation and sold in 1905 as low as \$8¾ for a \$100 share. The preferred stock, said by some to be also partly watered, pays 7 per cent on \$360,281,100. Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board, declares the property is now worth a billion dollars more than in 1901, all of which belongs to the stockholders, for there is no profit sharing plan with the employees. Stock is sold to them in limited amounts at slightly below the market price on the instalment plan.

Judge Gary holds 1,101 shares of the preferred and 455 shares of common stock; also jointly with Richard Trimble, 21,801 pre-

ferred and 21,875 common, and with F. M. Waterman, 130,721 common—over \$27,000,000 worth of stock in all. With the proxies sent in, Judge Gary has controlled the Corporation since its inception, so his statements give a fair indication of the sentiment of this company towards labor. The following are selected from various speeches, most of which have been printed in pamphlet form:

"We have treated our men better than the employers of any large industrial concern ever before treated its men in any country or in any period. . . One corporation alone during the last ten years has appropriated nearly \$100,000,000 for welfare work in behalf of employees. These expenditures have been profitable."

"We can not keep the rates of wages down if competitors . . . are willing to pay higher rates. As a whole unskilled labor, working ten hours, earned \$2 a day in 1914. . . ."

"If you were to ask me why any of our men in the mines discontinued work, I would be compelled to answer I do not know. . . As stated and repeated publicly, we do not combat, though we do not contract or deal with labor unions as such."

"We would like and hope to eliminate all of the 12-hour day work if practicable. In the first place we meet the opposition of the men themselves who wish to work longer hours in order to make larger compensation. . . We shall probably not pay the wages to our men when they are not actually employed (heatless Mondays in 1918 when salaries were continued). To do so would be contrary to the custom of the trade and would establish a precedent that would eventually be unfair to the employer and the employee."

He told the public that many increases in wages had been made voluntarily, but he apologized to his stockholders for the increases on the ground that the men were leaving for other trades. "My idea is that we should establish fair prices and working from that point of decreased selling prices, we should decrease wages."

Judge Gary protested against the Interchurch World Movement report which disclosed actual conditions, including the long hours prevailing after they were supposed to have been abandoned. Finally he yielded, admittedly due to the force of public opinion. Soon after the 8-hour day was adopted, which Judge Gary had declared to be a physical impossibility, extra dividends were declared.

Late in 1924, S. Adele Shaw, writing in *The Survey*, disclosed that the 12-hour day and 7-day week had not been entirely elimin-

ated in the steel industry and that the majority of the steel workers in the basic processes work from 56 to 60 hours a week. The Federal Trade Commission has recently forced the U. S. Steel Co. to abandon "Pittsburgh plus" under which system it charged purchasers of rolled steel products manufactured a few miles away with the standard rate plus the freight from Pittsburgh.

Bernard M. Baruch of the War Industries Board said that the Government set 3 cents a pound as a fair price for steel ship plates, whereas the Steel Corporation insisted upon 4½ cents and refused to yield until the Government threatened to nationalize the steel industry. Judge Gary called this action a "gigantic communistic scheme." Profits of the Corporation jumped from \$143,000,000 in 1914 to \$532,000,000 in 1919.

In December, 1924, the Senate committee investigating the International Revenue Bureau estimated that the Government had lost \$20,000,000 from excessive allowance on amortization claims by the company.

### **The American Telephone & Telegraph Co.**

The Commission on Industrial Relations reported that this company was designed to evade the legal limitations contained in the Massachusetts charter of the American Bell Telephone Co. It increased its capital from \$25,386,300 to \$75,276,600 without the addition of any new money, and pays 9% dividends.

The American Tel. & Tel Co. owns 25 other corporations including the New York Telephone Co. and the Western Electric Co. and receives from the former 4½ per cent of its gross earnings besides the dividends on the common stock. In return it furnishes the telephone sets and financial and other assistance. The Public Service Commission has suggested that payment be made for services rendered instead of this 4½ per cent. The New York Telephone Co. buys 90 per cent of its equipment from the Western Electric Co.

According to Clarence H. Venner, the American Tel. & Tel. Co. has been guilty of many fraudulent acts which it refuses to explain. One was the speculation through one of its dummy companies in its own stock, operating in 486,643 shares at a loss of \$4,142,199 which is covered up and not mentioned in its report. Another was the purchase of poles at Nashville, Tenn., where it had no need for them, for \$25,000 and selling them again for \$17.50. This loss was shown but not explained in the

report. The bonds of various subsidiaries were sold to other subsidiaries at a profit, and two different companies showed the same bonds on their balance sheets at the same time. "It appears that some three months after the Telephone Securities Company had taken action to dissolve and had certified that all of its property had been sold, and all of its debts had been fully satisfied, and that the company then had no property, the American Tel. & Tel. Co. caused its subsidiary, the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. to purchase at a premium \$2,705,000 of bonds of the Telephone Securities Co."

A representative of the legal department of the American Tel. & Tel. Co., who had not previously heard of Venner's attack, published in 1920, said later that the company denied his statements.

The stock was increased to \$1,000,000,000 in 1924, making it the largest purely industrial corporation in the world, and in 1925 another \$500,000,000 was authorized.

### **The Packers**

The Federal Trade Commission reported that the five great packers made net profits of \$59,510,000 in the three years 1912, 1913, 1914, and \$192,260,000 in the three years 1915, 1916, 1917.

Armour & Co. was founded in 1868 with an investment of \$160,000. In 1915 a stock dividend of \$80,000,000 was distributed. In 1918 a cash investment of about \$14,000,000 was made. On November 2, 1918 the balance sheet showed \$173,092,000. "About 8 per cent of the present net worth of the company has come from cash or property contributions on the part of the stockholders."

Francis J. Heney, employed in 1914 to investigate the packers for the Government, remarked: "It is impossible to indict a hundred million dollars."

On February 27, 1920, the Government obtained a consent decree under which the five big packers were directed to divest themselves of all holdings but the meat business, on the ground that they were gradually obtaining control of the entire food supply of the country. On April 23, 1925, this decree was suspended indefinitely by Justice Bailey of the District of Columbia Supreme Court.

### The Aluminum Co. of America

Andrew W. Mellon and others organized this company in 1888 with a paid-in capital of \$20,000. That is all the money they ever paid in except reinvested profits sufficient to raise the paid-in capital to \$1,000,000. Without further investment it became a \$20,000,000 corporation on which it was paying 15 per cent in 1912-13, or 180 to 235 per cent a year on the money actually invested. In 1921 they paid 12 per cent, or a profit of 1,000 per cent on the money originally put into the enterprise.

The company is controlled by the Mellon family and has a monopoly of the production of aluminum. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act raised the tariff on aluminum pig and prices of utensils were advanced for housewives and hospitals. A 500 per cent dividend was once declared, and the company's circular claims assets of \$110,000,000. In September, 1924, the Federal Trade Commission published a report declaring the company to be a monopoly that "threatened competitors with extermination unless obedient to the company's will."

See House of Representatives debate (p. 2671), by Congressman Rainey.

In other words, an investment of \$1,000,000 has become \$110,000,000. A Republican tariff protected one close corporation that was making large profits that it might make still larger profits at the expense of the public.

The daily wage paid its employees is \$3.36.

In February, 1925, the U. S. Attorney-General reported that the company had violated provisions of the dissolution decree and had practiced price control.

### Naval Oil Scandal

The naval oil reserves were created by presidential order; the first and second, respectively known as Elk Hills and Buena Vista Hills, situated in California, by President Taft in 1909; the third, or Teapot Dome, in Wyoming, by President Wilson in 1915. The purpose of the withdrawals or reserves was to insure the fleet against some remote emergency when commercial stocks should either become exhausted or so high in price as to be prohibitive. Relying on these vast resources, the Navy in 1913 adopted a program of building none but oil-burning ships.



From the start the properties became the center of a controversy. The authorities of the States concerned saw the development of their territories retarded. People who held claims of one kind or another demanded that their interests be safeguarded. Attempts to throw the reserves open to private exploitation were made repeatedly during the period prior to 1921, the principal argument advanced being that the Government's oil was being drained by wells in adjoining areas. Broadly speaking, the Department of the Interior, as the branch of Government in charge of public lands, favored abandonment of the reserves, while the Navy Department held out for conservation.

On February 25, 1920, the General Leasing Act became law. Its purpose, as far as oil was concerned, was to afford relief to claimants in the reserves. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior to grant leases to such of these as had "producing wells" within the withdrawn areas, and further permitted the President to lease old claims in whole or in part where production was at the time commercially profitable. These provisions apart, the act exempted the naval reserves from its operation.

Early in June of the same year, 1920, Secretary Daniels, having become convinced of the reality of the drainage danger, withdrew his consistent opposition and himself prepared an amendment to the Naval Appropriations Act, whereby the reserves were to be given into the custody of the head of the Navy, with the authority to "conserve, develop, use and operate . . . directly or by contract, lease, or otherwise; and to use, store, exchange, or sell the oil", etc. This became law on June 4, 1920. Shortly thereafter Mr. Daniels advertised for bids to drill twenty-two protective, or offset, wells in California Reserve No. 1.

Before the bids could be opened and the contract awarded the new administration came into office. Logically the matter should have fallen to the new Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Denby. However, the affair was held up, while plans to transfer the administration of the reserves to the Department of the Interior were being completed.

It appears reasonably clear that Mr. Fall came to the Cabinet determined to take the properties into his hands and throw them open to exploitation. By the end of May, 1921, within

three months after the inauguration of the new government, he had contrived to persuade the President and his colleague of the Navy, and to draw up an executive order of transfer for the President's signature.

Thereupon events followed fast and furious. The contract for the twenty-two offset wells was awarded to one E. L. Doheny of the Pan-American Company. During the Christmas recess that year, a certain sensational operator, Harry F. Sinclair by name, visited the Fall ranch at Three Rivers, N. M., and apparently came to an understanding with the Secretary about Teapot Dome. In February a shipment of blooded cattle went out of the Sinclair stock farm to Three Rivers. In June, Sinclair's attorney and right-hand man, Zevely, called at the ranch, ostensibly to engage Fall for the Sinclair Company, and paid him a sum of ten thousand dollars, which he supplemented after his return to New York by a \$25,000 parcel of liberty bonds.

The lease for the entire Teapot Dome tract (approximately 10,000 acres) was signed April 7, 1922. The bids were not advertised, and there was no competition, though fairness to the trade and the Government interest dictated open negotiations. Ostensibly a lease, the document in fact involves a complexity of deals. The lessee pays the Government royalties not in crude oil, but in "certificates," which are a kind of private banknote. Two-thirds of the Nation's share goes into tanks and similar works to be erected at the seaboard, and half the remainder pays for pipe-line transportation. The royalty terms, while very generous in theory, have in practice yielded the Government a return vastly poorer than that from very much smaller tracts in the adjoining Salt Creek field.

Even before the signing of the lease interested parties began quietly to exact hush-money. Later some others got theirs not so quietly. Two concerns, holding some distinctly shadowy claims to the Dome, "sold" their "rights" to the Sinclair Company for a round million. Another million or more was paid or promised to a lobbyist out in Denver, who after failing to cash in by the arts of persuasion, enlisted the co-operation of the leading newspaper of that city, terms: half-and-half. A Chicago newspaper owner obtained a sub-lease from Sinclair to some 220 acres of the Dome for his good-will, as well as ninety-odd thousand dollars in cash from the two concerns previously

mentioned. A fourth party (a political and personal friend of President Harding), attempted direct action, by setting up a rig in the middle of the property and initiating operations, only however, to be driven off at the point of the bayonet, Secretary Fall, in exasperation, having mobilized a detachment of Marines for the purpose.

Simultaneously negotiations were carried forward with Doheny and his Company, and simultaneously, also, Mr. Fall's private fortunes saw a noteworthy improvement. He paid off his property taxes in New Mexico, which had been in arrears for ten years. His dilapidated ranch was enlarged by the purchase of a neighboring tract, and modernized by the installation of a hydro-electric plant and other improvements, the total running into a sum approximately of \$200,000. This while his neighbors in the ranching business were going wholesale into bankruptcy.

On April 25, 1922, Doheny was awarded the contract for erecting naval oil tanks at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, for which the Government offered to pay in royalty oil out of its small lease-tracts in California. The bids for this transaction were duly advertised, so that the award would have been a perfectly legitimate one but for the fact that Doheny submitted two alternative bids, of which bid B offered to reduce the costs to the Government as estimated in bid A in exchange for preferential treatment in the event of Reserve No. 1 (Elk Hills) being thrown open for exploitation. This bid B was quietly accepted; and in due time Doheny secured his lease to Elk Hills without any further negotiation. The terms of this lease are similar to those of the Sinclair-Teapot Dome contract.

Though the Senate Committee demanded all the documents in all the naval reserve transactions, and though Fall spent two entire days on the witness stand, the existence of this lease did not become known until it was accidentally stumbled upon a year later. And when rumors of Fall's sudden wealth reached the ear of the investigators, he vehemently resented the dragging of his private affairs into the investigation. Later Fall admitted that he had borrowed \$100,000 from a certain Edward B. McLean of Washington, the latter corroborating the statement in a letter to the committee. Upon being sworn and faced with a stenographer, McLean modified the story, to the effect that, though the checks had indeed passed from his hands into

Fall's, the latter had a few days later returned them uncashed. Then another witness declared that he had been approached for Fall with the request that he shoulder the alleged loan. Finally Doheny voluntarily appeared before the Committee and related that he had sent \$100,000 in a satchel in cash by his son to Fall's rooms in Washington. He insisted that it was a bona fide loan, for which he held a note, of which he produced the body without the signature. He declared emphatically, further, that the loan had nothing to do with any oil transactions. Nevertheless, between his two appearances the clerks of the Senate contrived to unearth a letter from Doheny to Fall, dated two days before the loan, in which the Pearl Harbor matter was discussed in considerable detail.

The upshot of the story thus far is that Fall and the lessees have been indicted for fraud and bribery (June 30, 1924) and further operations in the reserves have been halted by injunction. The President has appointed two noted attorneys to prosecute the matter, and their efforts bid fair to restore the properties to the Nation and to bring Fall and his accomplices to justice.

M. E. RAVAGE.

See "The Story of Teapot Dome," by M. E. Ravage.

There are other interesting features in the Teapot Dome case. The transference by President Harding of the oil reserves to the Interior Department was of doubtful legality. Secretary Fall resigned from the Department of the Interior, and in 1924 popular clamor forced the resignations of Secretary of the Navy Denby and Attorney General Daugherty. On April 28, 1922, Senator LaFollette had denounced the oil leases in the Senate in the presence of Vice-President Coolidge, but even when the exposure came, in 1924, Mr. Coolidge, then President, defended his cabinet and did not admit any wrongdoing on their part. Edward L. Doheny stated that he expected to make \$100,000,000 out of the transaction. Harry F. Sinclair contributed to campaign funds of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

When the Government's case against the Dohenys, Sinclair and Fall was tried in 1925, the ten lawyers representing Sinclair and Fall persuaded the court not to permit evidence tracing the coupons of \$233,500 Liberty Bonds that had come

into Fall's hands. Three of the important witnesses absented themselves from the country until the case was over. However, the defense claimed that it was delighted at the opportunity of laying the entire transaction before the public. On April 3, Chief Justice McCoy of the District of Columbia Supreme Court quashed the indictments on the ground that special counsel for the Government had unlawfully permitted Oliver E. Pagan, an Assistant Attorney General, to appear before the Special Grand Jury investigating the oil lease cases. The trial being ended by this technicality, the witnesses returned to their homes.

In June, 1925, a federal judge declared the Doheny lease void and another federal judge sustained the Sinclair lease.

### **The Coal Fields**

The U. S. Coal Commission came into existence September 22, 1922 and was composed of conservative men headed by John Hays Hammond. Their findings have been described by Winthrop D. Lane in a pamphlet, "The Denial of Civil Liberties in the Coal Fields."

The industrial policy which prevents miners in the non-union fields from organizing is national, dictated primarily by the U. S. Steel Corporation backed by the banking groups.

The coal operators control the mining towns, leasing houses to the miners on terms unknown in other communities. Some leases provide that the tenants must vacate on a day's notice, or that the tenants will not permit anyone to visit their homes who are objectionable to the coal companies.

It is a common practice for the companies to pay the salaries of deputy sheriffs who are public officials. From April 1, 1922, when the strike began, to July 17, 1923 Sheriff Shaw had commissioned as deputy sheriffs, 6,180 men. The deputies drove organizers for the United Mine Workers out of the country.

Contracts called "yellow dog" or "individual" are made with the men, who will sign anything to get work, under which the miners agree not to join a union or talk about unionism while in the employ of the company.

Injunctions have been issued by the courts restraining employees from doing legal as well as illegal acts, forbidding mass meetings, or the use of money to assist in unionizing the mines, even forbidding the use of tent colonies after the men have been ejected from the company houses.



No arrests have been made of those who have interfered with the rights of miners.

The National Coal Association of operators prevented the Federal Trade Commission from investigating costs of coal production or the profits from the industry.

George Soule of the Labor Bureau gives the following figures concerning the Girard Estate coal properties, based on estimates of mining experts. Original cost \$2,340. Royalties to 1923 at 33 cents, \$660,000. Future royalties at a rate of \$1.04, \$8,320,000. Return on the investment 3,800 per cent.

In 1923 a committee appointed by Mayor Hylan of New York City investigated the bituminous coal fields, especially the mines of the Berwind-White Coal Mining Co. They found 70,000 men on strike, whose annual pay had averaged \$700 a year, out of which they had been obliged to pay for drills, picks, carbon, shovels and \$1 a month for maintenance of the company's hospital. The rent paid for company houses was \$9 to \$12 a month. 200 families had been evicted, 32 families living in tents. The miners had not been allowed to have checkweighmen, and charged the company with shortweighing the coal mined. They were obliged to buy supplies at the "Eureka" stores at high prices. These company stores were continued after the Pennsylvania legislature declared such operation illegal. The committee were spied upon while investigating, and were refused a conference with the Company. The final recommendation was the nationalization of the coal fields.

### **Interborough Rapid Transit Co.**

The Transit Commission disclosed that this company had paid dividends of \$65,625,000 to stockholders who had invested \$21,620,000, between its incorporation in 1902 and the cessation of dividends in 1919. Dividends were illegally paid in 1919 out of borrowed money. When August Belmont was receiving \$25,000 a year as president of the company and his firm an additional \$50,000 a year as fiscal agent, he took a commission of \$1,500,000 for his services in acquiring the Pelham Park & City Island Railway for \$270,000 which had previously been on the market for \$100,000, and on the witness stand declared he was justified because it was a "delicate and difficult operation."

### **Ford Motor Company**

The capital stock was \$49,000 at its incorporation and was enlarged to \$2,000,000 out of the profits. In 1919 Henry Ford

bought out the twelve other stockholders paying \$205,000,000 for stock that had cost them about \$20,000.

The books now show a surplus of over \$350,000,000 besides over \$17,000,000 of capital.

### **Amoskeag Manufacturing Company**

Since 1907 the capital has been increased from \$4,000,000 to \$44,500,000 out of profits. At times they reduce wages in order to continue dividends on the increased capital.

### **The Pullman Company**

"The employees of the Pullman Company are unable to improve their conditions through organization, as employees known to be members of labor unions are discharged, and through the means of an effective system of espionage employees are deterred from affiliating with labor unions. The company is tremendously overcapitalized, having increased its capitalization from \$36,000,000 in 1893 to \$120,000,000 in 1915 without the investment of a single dollar on the part of the stockholders."—Committee on Industrial Relations.

### **Sugar**

Senator La Follette wrote, in 1924: "Of the sugar consumed in the United States in 1923, more than half of the American supply, or 56 per cent, came in the form of cane sugar from Cuba. Certain American banking interests controlled 70 per cent of the Cuban sugar properties, representing a speculative investment of upwards of \$1,000,000,000. These banking interests have sought unceasingly during recent years to protect their speculative profits by creating an artificial sugar shortage in the United States in order to manipulate the sugar market and to restore sugar prices to exorbitant levels. . . ."

The Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill was pending before Congress in 1921 and 1922. The sugar interests saw in the tariff bill an opportunity for creating a shortage, by compelling the Republic of Cuba to adopt measures to limit the Cuban production of sugar.

Senator Smoot of Utah, now the Chairman of the Finance Committee, wrote to General Crowder, American Ambassador to Cuba, under date of January 30, 1922, asking him to lay before the President of Cuba a proposition for reducing the tariff on Cuban sugar provided Cuba would limit her crop to 65 per cent of normal production. In order that the Cubans might understand they would

not obtain the reduction they desired unless the crop was limited, Senator Smoot closed his letter to General Crowder with the significant words:

"I have had the sugar schedule in the pending tariff bill passed over until I hear definitely from you."

Meanwhile, the Cuban Government had sent a distinguished delegation to Washington to appeal for a reduction in the duties on Cuban sugar.

The official records of the Republic of Cuba show that this delegation was received by and had audience in Washington with Senator Smoot, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, General Crowder and C. C. Hamlin, lobbying for American beet sugar interests. All of these gentlemen urged the artificial limitation of the Cuban sugar crop, in order to decrease the sugar supply imported for consumption by the public in this country.

But the sugar combine did not abandon its attempt to control the American market. Rumors were circulated to the effect that "the Cuban sugar crop had failed." Some attributed the crop "failure" to excessive rains, others to droughts. Evidence existed that many cane crops controlled by American bankers in Cuba were destroyed by fire, thus tending to reduce the available supply. On February 9, 1923, the Department of Commerce issued an official bulletin upon which Willett and Dray's Weekly Statistical Trade Journal of New York, regarded as the most authoritative publication of the sugar industry, commented as follows in its issue of February 15:

"The Department of Commerce issued a report on the sugar situation which was interpreted by the whole country as indicating a shortage in the world's sugar supplies of about three-quarters of a million tons. The headline of the article, as it was sent to the newspapers, was misleading. . . It had the effect of causing a wildly speculative market.

"After the issue of the misleading Department of Commerce report, sugar prices advanced in six weeks from 7 cents to 10 cents a pound. From February 10 until May 1, it is estimated that more than \$55,000,000 was realized by the sugar interests in excessive prices charged the consuming public for sugar."

Writing in the New York World in April, 1925, Silas Bent declared that the deliberate pigeon-holing by President Coolidge for nine months of the report of the Tariff Commission had cost the consuming public \$53,000,000 and was still costing \$200,000 a day.

The report had advocated cutting the tariff favors from the sugar trust.

### **Bread**

From "The Bread Tribute" by Basil M. Manly, 1924.

If any government should levy taxes as oppressive as private industry now imposes on the bread of the American people, revolution would be inevitable. Only a few figures are necessary to present a clear picture of the general situation. The pre-war year 1913 may be taken as a standard. In that year wheat on the farm sold for an average price of 79.4 cents per bushel, while flour at retail brought 3.3 cents per pound, and bread 5.6 cents per pound, retail. In November, 1924, wheat sold for 92.3 cents per bushel on the farm, while flour at retail brought 4.6 cents and bread 8.7 cents per pound, retail. That is, in ten years since 1913, wheat has advanced in price 16 per cent, flour 39 per cent and bread 55 per cent.

In September, 1917, the price of wheat on the farm was \$2.10 per bushel and bread was selling for 9.2 cents per loaf. In September, 1923, wheat had fallen to 93 cents per bushel, but the bread price remained practically unchanged at 8.7 cents per pound. The farmer's share of the bread price is 16 per cent now as compared with 21 per cent before the war.

The profits realized in the production and distribution of bread are made up as follows: Senate Document 259 (out of print) shows the profits of the largest milling companies in 1917 averaged 49.1 per cent of their capital stock and ranged as high as 182 per cent, after liberal allowances for depreciation. Ten smaller companies earned from 306 per cent to 2,628 per cent net on their capital stock, according to their own returns to the Government for the excess profits tax.

The bakers reported to the Secretary of the Treasury average profits of 27 per cent on their capital stock, but on pages 80-83 eight companies are shown to have earned from 218 to 424 per cent. In 1922 the General Baking Company earned at the rate of 117 per cent on each share of its original common stock, and in that year declared two stock dividends, one of 100 per cent in January and one of 200 per cent in December, according to the Wall Street Journal. . . . The common stock of the General Baking Company does not represent actual investment by the stockholders. It is water. When the General

Baking Company was organized by the consolidation of twenty companies in 1911, the Audit Company of New York reported the value at that time of all its real estate, buildings, machinery and equipment to be \$3,631,796. This was less than the amount of its \$3,428,000 of first mortgage bonds, plus its \$400,000 of gold notes then outstanding. The other large item in its assets—"Investments in other corporations"—was less than one-third of its preferred stock. There was, therefore, nothing behind its \$3,400,000 of common stock and more than half its preferred stock except the \$6,899,599 of "good will," which first appears separately in the balance sheet of December 31, 1912. The market price of the common stock in 1916 was \$2 a share and in 1923, \$618 a share, including the stock dividends, the quotation on the inflated issue being \$103 $\frac{1}{8}$  in 1923. An investment of \$2,000 in 1916 became worth \$618,000 in eight years, an increase of 30,800 per cent.

Before the war the retailers handled bread on standard margins of half a cent or a cent a loaf. Today they receive in most cities two cents a loaf, but reaching as high as four cents in certain cases. Thus the margin is two to four times as great as before the war, although neither the value nor cost of the service has increased appreciably. On the basis of 1924 prices the farmer received for the amount of wheat that goes into a pound of bread about 1.35 cents. This is just two-thirds of the retailer's margin. The storekeeper demands and receives 50 per cent more for letting a loaf of bread lie on his shelves a few hours and handing it to his customer than the farmer receives not only for his year's labor of planting, cultivating, harvesting, threshing and marketing the wheat, but for his investment in the seed and land that grew the wheat and machinery with which it was cultivated.

Although present freight rates are very burdensome when compared to existing prices both of wheat and flour, transportation prices do not control bread prices. On the contrary, we find very high bread prices in Chicago and the very heart of the grain belt and very low prices in cities like New Orleans and Houston, Texas, at the end of the long hauls from the wheat and flour centers.

When the consumer begins to protest about the high price of bread and flour, he is almost always met with the same answer that has been given since the war to account for every



kind of profiteering—"Look at the wages we are paying." In other words, the miller, the baker and the retailer all try to "pass the buck" to labor. This plea does not appear to hold water. When we go to the Census of Manufactures for 1919, when wages were at the peak, we find that the cost of all the labor in the flour mills is only 2.5 per cent of the wholesale value of their products. In other words, on a barrel of flour that sells for \$6, the total labor cost is only 15 cents, or one-twentieth of a cent on the amount of flour that goes into a loaf of bread. Similarly, in the statistics for baking, we find that the cost of labor is only about 14 per cent of the wholesale value of the product. As the average wholesale price of bread per pound is about 7 cents, this means a labor cost of about 1 cent a pound for the country as a whole. This calculation is confirmed by figures appearing in the December, 1923, issue of the Monthly Labor Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, which show the following average labor costs per pound of bread including all employees: Baltimore, 0.55 cents; New York, 0.87 cents; Philadelphia, 0.91 cents; Washington, 1.17 cents. We have, therefore, a variation in labor cost from half a cent a pound in Baltimore to a little over a cent a pound in Washington.

When the people know that bread is selling for war prices while wheat is back on the pre-war level, they see "red." Here is the source of much of that unrest and dissatisfaction that the professional "bolshhevik hunters" point to with alarm as evidences of communism and bolshevism.

Official reports of the Department of Agriculture show that out of a total of 2,289,000 owner and tenant farmers in the wheat States, more than 108,000 lost their farms or other property through foreclosure or bankruptcy; over 122,000 lost their property without legal proceedings, and nearly 373,000 retained their property through leniency of creditors. Thus 603,000 farmers in these fifteen states are actually or virtually bankrupt. That is, 26 per cent of all farmers in these States have been ruined by the collapse of wheat prices. Two farmers out of every three in Montana are virtually bankrupt.

Compare these figures with the profits of millers, bakers and traders and understand just how far the economic system in the United States is out of adjustment. Unless it is speedily

checked, the bread of the nation will soon be in the control of one or two gigantic corporations.

This pamphlet can be obtained from the People's Legislative Service, Washington, D. C. for 10 cents.

### War Profits

Basil M. Manly, former Joint Chairman of the War Labor Board, wrote in *The Searchlight*:

"When the coal controversy was at its height, former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo startled the nation by declaring that in 1917 the mine owners made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal. He stated that their income tax returns revealed that during that year the earnings on their capital stock ranged from 15 to 2,000 per cent and that earnings of from 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. Mr. McAdoo drew his facts regarding the profits of coal operators from Senate Document No. 259, a report of the Secretary of the Treasury in response to a Senate resolution requesting all facts in possession of the Treasury Department relative to profiteering. Great objection to the printing of this report was made by reactionary Senators, who wanted to conceal these facts from the people; and only after a hard fight by Senators Borah and La Follette was an agreement finally secured to print a small edition. As the result of this partial suppression, this important report, which should have been made available to every American citizen, has been obtainable only with the greatest difficulty.

"An examination of the report shows that Secretary McAdoo was entirely too conservative when he stated that the profits of the coal operators ranged as high as 2,000 per cent. He should have said that the profits ranging as high as 100 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. The fact is that nearly half the coal companies (185 out of 404) actually earned profits on their capital stock ranging from 100 per cent to 7,856 per cent. In other words, the prices paid by the American people for their coal in 1917 were so high that nearly half the mines reported were paid profits equal to their entire capital stock, and at least one of the mines was paid profits equal to 78 times its capitalization.

"It is a notorious fact that in many of the mining corporations the greater part of the capital stock represented nothing but water. The stock was given as bonuses to the buyers of bonds, and nobody expected that the stock certificates would ever be worth more

than a few cents on the dollar. Nevertheless we find that in 1917 the net income of the 404 coal companies reported was \$78,000,000, or nearly 45 per cent of their total capital stock of \$175,000,000. This net income is after the deduction of interest on bonds and all the over-generous allowances for depreciation and depletion provided for in the excess profits tax law. Furthermore, these figures are based on the original returns of the companies, and take no account whatever of millions of dollars of tax evasions which were revealed by the International Revenue Bureau in auditing the returns. . .

"With these facts before us, and making due allowance for smaller profits in 1918 and 1919, it is absolutely certain that it would have been cheaper for the American people to have bought the coal mines outright when we entered the war, so that coal could have been sold to the people at a low cost, than to have paid the enormous profits of the last three years.

"The meat packers were making profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent, canners of fruits and vegetables 2,032 per cent, woolen mills 1,770 per cent, furniture manufacturers 3,295 per cent, clothing and dry goods stores 9,826 per cent, and to cap the climax, steel mills as high as 290,999 per cent.

"A profit of 290,999 per cent seems incredible, but here are the facts. This steel company (page 367 of the Treasury Report) had a capital stock of \$5,000; in 1917 it reported to the Treasury Department a net income of \$14,549,952. After paying its excess profits tax, its net income still amounted to 212,584 per cent on its capital stock.

The net income of the Steel Corporation can not be stated on the basis of the Treasury Department's figures; but on the basis of its own published report, its net profits in the two years 1916 and 1917, after the payment of interest on bonds and after allowances for all charges growing out of the installation of special war facilities, amounted to \$888,931,511. This is \$20,000,000 more than the total capital stock of the Steel Corporation. In other words, in 1916 and 1917 every dollar of the capital stock of the Steel Corporation was paid for in net profits. In this connection it should be remembered that when the Steel Corporation was formed its entire \$500,000,000 worth of common stock represented nothing but water.

"I have tabulated the returns of industries engaged in manufacturing and selling the principal necessities of life. There is

not a single one of these branches of industry and trade in which there was not at least one establishment making 100 per cent or more on its capital stock. Out of 506 flour mills, 84 reported net profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock, and one company reported 2,628 per cent. The bread and bakery companies were not quite so fortunate, but out of 217 of them, 34, or more than one-seventh, made more than 100 per cent on their capital stock, and 153, or more than two-thirds, made over 20 per cent on their invested capital.

"The newspapers have carried advertisements costing millions of dollars telling how little profit is made by the meat packers. The Treasury Department's reports show that out of 122 meat packers, 30, or one out of every four, made more than 100 per cent profit on their capital stock. One of these companies, not one of the "Big Five," made the nice little profit of 4,244 per cent on its capital stock in 1917. In this connection I discovered one interesting and significant thing while examining this report of the Treasury Department. On page 365 I found a meat packing corporation with a capital stock of \$100,000,000 in 1917. There were only two meat packing corporations with capital stock of \$100,000,000 in 1917—Armour & Company and Swift & Company. The corporation that is mentioned above reported to the Treasury Department a net income in 1917 of \$49,139,147; after the payment of income and excess profits taxes it still had a net income of \$43,810,984. Looking at the published reports of Armour and Swift I find that Armour reported to the public profits of only \$30,628,157 in 1917, and Swift reported profits of only \$34,650,000. I do not know which of these companies is represented in the Treasury Department's report, but I do know that whichever one it is concealed from the public either \$9,000,000 or \$13,000,000 net income which it reported to the Treasury Department. In other words, the Treasury Department's report reveals beyond question that one of these companies has falsified its report to the public and to its stockholders.

"The Treasury Department reports give the returns of 45 woolen and worsted mills, one of which earned 1,770 per cent on its capital stock. Out of the 45, seventeen reported profits of more than 100 per cent on their capital stock. Among the woolen mills we also have a case similar to that of the meat packers, of concealment of income from the eyes of the public. On page 380 of the Treasury report is shown the income of a woolen com-

pany capitalized at \$60,000,000. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only one woolen company in the United States capitalized at that amount—the American Woolen Company. The Treasury Department report shows that in 1917 this sixty-million-dollar woolen company reported a net income of \$28,560,342. The annual report of the American Woolen Company for 1917 shows a net income before taxes were deducted of only \$13,883,155. If this sixty-million-dollar woolen company is in fact the American Woolen Company—and the evidence seems to be conclusive—it is clear that the American Woolen Company in 1917 concealed from its stockholders and from the public profits of nearly \$15,000,000.

“Out of 313 department stores, one earned 757 per cent on its capital stock, and 26 earned more than 100 per cent. There were 577 furniture stores reported, of which 78, or nearly 15 per cent, earned more than 100 per cent on capital stock, and 1 earned 781 per cent. We have heard a great deal about the high cost of building in the last few years. In nearly every case an attempt is made to attribute the high cost to the wages paid building labor, but this report shows that out of 809 contractors and construction companies, 154, or more than 15 per cent, earned profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock, and one of them earned 1,390 per cent, or nearly fourteen times its total capital in a single year.

“In other words, it is clear that if the national government at the beginning of the war had taken over the essential lines of industry, and the American people had been required to pay the prices which private manufacturers and merchants have charged them, there would have been sufficient profit to pay for every dollar's worth of capital stock, and leave the nation in possession of practically all its manufacturing plants.”

### **Economic Waste**

In the last analysis, people only work to supply their wants. Mighty rationalizers have filled the air with words like capital, credit, the law of supply and demand, the gold standard, interest, depreciation, bonded indebtedness, taxes, profits, wages, the cost of living and ground rent. But these are wooden soldiers behind whose ranks the real work of the world goes on—the work which mankind has done for 50,000 years, and will still be doing after these warriors are in limbo. The Incas of Peru eliminated poverty from their great empire, built some of the



mightiest engineering works ever conceived and never heard of a first mortgage bond. The people worked, under able technical direction, to supply their wants. From the fields and the forests, the seas and the pits of the earth must come the food and the shelter and the clothing which are the price of the survival of the human organism. Waste, if it is to avoid endless paradoxes, must cut clean under the wooden soldiers and view the economic scene in the immemorial terms of human wants, and the natural resources, the tools and equipment and the labor power with which to supply them. Specify the wants, both physical and aesthetic and be as catholic as you choose. Enumerate the able-bodied population; survey the natural resources, determine the state of the technical arts—particularly engineering.

A wasteless society is obviously one where all the able-bodied work to supply the desired wants, with a minimum of lost motion. Waste arises accordingly with (1) Idleness, (2) failure to produce the desired wants (the production of illth as Ruskin calls it) (3) failure to use accredited technical methods in production and distribution (inefficiency). These are the three great channels of waste. In terms of labor power, it appears that in America:

1. We find anywhere from 4 to 8 million able bodied adults idle on any given working day due to unemployment, strikes and lockouts, preventable sickness, sabotage, the idle rich, the weary willies, and the jail population.

2. We find according to the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Houston, 10 million workers engaged in producing so called goods and services which lie clean outside even the most catholic definition of human wants—super luxuries and their cheap imitation, munitions of war, the bulk of advertising, quackery, patent medicines, adulterated products, speculation, fashions, commercialized recreation, legal chicanery.

3. We find, according to Mr. Hoover's test cases, probably 10 million more workers engaged in producing and distributing sound goods and services, using technical methods so antiquated and clumsy that their full time is a dead loss from the engineering point of view.

So of the 42 million able bodied workers in America, the working time of at least 25 millions of them counts for naught. Some engineers estimate that the time of nine out of ten is

wasted, which means that if we could reorganize our habit patterns and our economic processes to keep everybody busy producing sound goods according to accredited technical methods, we could double the standard of living and cut the work day to six hours or less. If we could—but here we leave economics and enter the immensely more complicated field of social psychology.

STUART CHASE.

See "The Challenge of Waste" by Stuart Chase, and "Waste in Industry" by the Hoover Engineers.

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Secretary of Commerce Hoover wrote in his annual report, 1924: "Wastes are legion. There are wastes which arise from widespread unemployment during depressions, and from speculation and overproduction in booms; wastes due to the intermittent and seasonal production as in the coal and construction industries; vast wastes due to inadequate transportation, such as the lack of sufficient terminals; wastes caused by excessive variations in products; wastes in materials arising from lack of efficient processes; wastes by fire and wastes in human lives."

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"During the year 1918, in 108 industrial plants selected at random with diversified industries, employing 207,303 workers, there were 393,164 accessions and 299,157 voluntary separations, all of which tends to lessen the productivity and increase the cost of production, and involving a net economic loss in the United States estimated at \$300,000,000."—American Federationist.

### **Agent Provocateur**

An agent provocateur in current industrial practice is a labor spy who incites action tending to destroy labor unions, break strikes and discredit unionists.

The modern industrial agent provocateur is euphemistically known in the trade as a "representative" or "harmonizer" or "emissary." He is usually employed by some business firm bearing such a name as "The Sherman Service," "The Bureau of Industrial Relations," "The Production Service Co.," "The Corporations Auxiliary Co.," "The Railway Audit and Inspection Co.," "The Eastern Engineering and Contracting Co."

These are names under which industrial detective agencies now operate as human engineering and conciliation angels of truth and right.

These "services" are often suspected of making money by exploiting the fears, uncertainties and prejudices of employers. Some of their chosen missionaries are engaged in acts of corruption, deceit, spying and incitement to violence as well as hypocritical propaganda about the heavenly fellowship that should exist between capital and labor. To the end of making the "service" profitable and the employers easy baits the advertising and solicitations of the "service" are highly self-righteous as well as expensive.

Some examples of provocateur practice:

1—William Breeze, employed by the Soule Agency of Chicago, joins the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union of that city at the time when the workers of that union are under the Altschuler agreement. Breeze, on the instruction of the agency employed by the Packers, makes strenuous efforts to get the union to violate the agreement in order to throw the blame on the workers and give the Packers an excuse for withdrawing from the arbitration arrangement. Breeze nearly succeeds before he is discovered and removed from office.

2—Operatives of the Sherman Service in the Steel Strike are advised in a letter from headquarters: "We want you to stir up as much bad feeling as you possibly can between the Italians and the Serbians. Spread data among the Serbians that the Italians are going back to work. Call up every question you can in reference to racial hatred between these two nationalities."

This by a company which blithely remarks in its advertising brochure: "Sherman Service does not break strikes. We are industrial counsellors of a new school—we educate workers and advise clients. . . . We expedite satisfactory adjustments of strife."

3—An affidavit by Leon E. Paradis, a former Sherman sleuth, shows how a slightly different scheme to cripple a strike was employed among textile workers at Stafford Springs, and Rockville, Connecticut: "I was advised, rather instructed, to talk to the leaders of the union and to induce them to preach violence. All the labor leaders were opposed to such a thing except one. Of course everything he said in that connection

was reported and used in one way or another to keep public opinion against the workers. Many of the strikers were arrested for intimidation or for calling some one a "scab." . . . Of course the union furnished bail or appealed, and so they ran out of funds quicker. Violence is advocated by the Sherman agency for that purpose. The person that doesn't act according to law and order is arrested, the judge puts the bonds high, the union runs out of funds and then the strike is called off."

Reporting on the under-cover activities of the National Erectors Association in the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission, Mr. Luke Grant indicates the role of the spy as a provoker of violence:

"If the secret agents of employers, working as members of the labor unions do not always instigate acts of violence, they frequently encourage them. If they did not they would not be performing the duties for which they are paid, for they are hired on the theory that labor organizations are criminal in character. If they find that labor unions are not criminal organizations and that acts of lawlessness never are discussed in union meetings, they have nothing to report to those employing them."

Stirring up a little violence naturally gives them something spicy to report.

For a record of the spy as a provoker of violence one should reread the story of any of the great American industrial conflicts at Homestead, Cripple Creek, Mesaba Range, Butte, Mingo County, Logan County, Lawrence, Passaic, Paterson, Philadelphia, Denver and dozens of other places where the workers have been murdered by the armed "missionaries" of American capital.

ROBERT W. DUNN.

### Spies

Spielman says: "It is estimated that the Pinkerton, Thiel and Burns private detective syndicates are employing about 135,000 operatives, operating about 100 offices and over 10,000 local agencies, and that 75 per cent of their operatives are under cover in the various labor organizations at a total cost of \$65,000,000 annually."

The Sherman Agency advertises its efforts to provide harmony in industry. It was so prosperous in one year that its

income tax was \$258,000. Industrial Solidarity, a labor paper, reported the expulsion from the I. W. W. of two Burns Detectives who advocated force and violence after joining the organization.

The Interchurch World Movement found that "these company spy systems carry right through into the United States government."

"At Roosevelt, N. J., it was found by the Commission on Industrial Relations' investigators and later confirmed in court that the office of sheriff was virtually turned over to one Jerry O'Brien, the proprietor of a so-called detective agency; that he imported a number of men of bad reputation and clothed them with the authority of deputies; and that on January 19, 1915, these criminals, without provocation, wantonly shot and killed 2 men and wounded 17 others who were on strike against the American Agricultural Chemical Company which paid and armed the deputies.

Similarly during the Calumet, Mich., strike, about 230 men were imported. . . . The actions of these men were so wantonly brutal that they were censured by the local judge, but they went unchecked in their career of arrogant brutality, which culminated in their shooting, without provocation, into a house in which women and children were, killing two persons and wounding two others.

In Bayonne, N. J. . . . these men shot without provocation at anyone or everyone who came within sight, and the killing of at least three strikers in Bayonne and the wounding of many more is directly chargeable to these guards.

According to the statement of Berghoff Bros. & Waddell, who style themselves "labor adjusters," and who do a business of strike breaking and strike policing, there are countless men who follow this business at all times. They say they can put 10,000 armed men into the field inside of 72 hours."

See Violence and the Labor Movement, by Robert Hunter; The Labor Spy, by Sidney Howard; Social Service Bulletin, September, 1924.

### Opposition or Indifference

Indifference to labor conditions on the part of prominent employers is shown by various quotations.



The Commission on Industrial Relations reported:

"A careful and conservative study shows that the corporations controlled by six financial groups and affiliated interests employ 2,651,684 wage earners and have a total capitalization of \$19,875,200,000. . . .

"The lives of millions of wage earners are therefore subject to the dictation of a relatively small number of men. These industrial dictators are for the most part totally ignorant of every aspect of the industries which they control except the finances, and are totally unconcerned with regard to the working and living conditions of the employees in those industries. Even if they were deeply concerned, the position of the employees would be merely that of the subjects of benevolent industrial despots."

Chairman Walsh—According to such standards as you can determine, what would you consider to be the proper labor conditions as regards the following points: length of working day?

Mr. J. P. Morgan: I do not know. I have not an opinion on that matter.

Chairman Walsh:—The income for an unskilled workman?

Mr. Morgan: Here again I have no opinion.

Chairman Walsh—Do you think \$10 a week is enough for a longshoreman to earn?

Mr. Morgan—I do not know, sir. If that is all he can get and he takes it, I should think it was enough.

Chairman Walsh—Ladies and gentlemen, we must have perfect order or we will have to adjourn this examination now and continue this at some other time. There must be no audible expression of feeling.

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Chairman Walsh—What information, Mr. Schiff, do you possess either as a stockholder or as a director, concerning the labor conditions in these corporations in which you are interested?

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff—None.

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Chairman Walsh—Do you receive reports from any of the corporations which give you information concerning labor conditions?

Mr. August Belmont—No, I know of no such reports that relate specifically to that particular feature of the management.

Edward J. Berwind—"The thing we try to secure is the men that will work the greatest number of hours. And if a man will not work a certain number of hours we try to find men who will."

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"That this ignorance of working conditions is an essential part of the system of exploitation is disclosed by Mr. Rockefeller's testimony both before this commission and before the Congressional Committee as well as by his correspondence. This shows that he was familiar with such details as the building of churches on the C. F. & I. property, the hiring of Mr. Elbert Hubbard to carry on publicity work, the retaining of Mr. Ivy Lee at \$1,000 a month, the existence of clergymen of socialistic views in the mining camps, the hiring of an automobile for imported clergymen in the mining district, and the payment of members of the militia out of the company's funds.

"But as to wages and living conditions in general and especially as to the tyranny of the company over the thousands of men and women who are dependent on it, Mr. Rockefeller claims, and I believe his claim is true, that he kept himself in the most complete ignorance. . . . 'Do you know,' asked the chairman of the Congressional Investigating Committee, 'whether there are any grievances or any claimed by the miners out there?'

"Mr. Rockefeller—by our miners? No.

"The Chairman—No grievances at all?

"Mr. Rockefeller—Not that I know of."—Testimony of Amos Pinchot, before Commission on Industrial Relations.

In 1921 the following comment on budgets was made by the Wall Street Journal. "When the real adjustment comes, the unskilled worker finishes where he belongs—at the bottom of the list. He will be able to live on \$2 a day when he is able to get that amount regularly. . . . The cost of living will adjust itself. The Labor Bureau will give up publishing nonsense about \$2,600 a year minimum for a fancied 'family of five.' The unskilled worker will thank goodness that he has no family of five, or, indeed, anybody but himself to support. . . ."

Frederick W. Whitridge, former president of the Third Avenue Railroad refused to recognize unions, saying to the men, "I am the manager of this company and you are my servants, as I am the servant of the company."

In April, 1925, Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, told the National Civic Federation that "perhaps the greatest source of industrial conflict is the refusal of employers to permit their employees to exercise the right to join labor unions. In fact the most bitter, costly and far-reaching strikes in history were due to the hostility of employers toward the organization of their employees. . . . In some form or another efforts have been made to destroy organization among the workers or to prevent them from organizing into trade unions. This policy has been pursued for many years."

In 1920 the Bethlehem Steel Company refused to sell its products to builders to be erected by union labor in New York City. The president of the company, Eugene G. Grace, admitted that unions had never refused to handle non-union material. Several witnesses testified before the Lockwood Housing Committee that they could not obtain jobs in "open shops" because they were known as union men.

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**Arguments** often advanced by conservatives in justification of the existing economic system and to show that there is no real cause for discontent:

The poor are as happy as the rich and can live comfortably because they are not obliged to maintain any social position.

The workers are not poor; laborers are paid more than college professors.

The extravagance of the workers keeps them poor. They buy silk shirts and stockings, the best cuts of meat and Ford cars.

The lower classes have never been accustomed to luxuries and do not feel the need of them.

A family living in certain districts can get along perfectly well on \$900 a year. Millions of them do.

Anyone may rise to affluence under our present system by exercising due diligence.

The workers are unreliable and do not appreciate what is done for them.

If employees were given a share in management they would soon ruin the business.

Workers are a different type of human beings from employers; they are less sensitive and do not feel hardships. They are stronger physically, but if they do require medical atten-

tion they can get it free at dispensaries. The municipal lodging houses will shelter them when out of work.

There is greater prosperity for the workers when capital is allowed to accumulate in the hands of a few men who will start new enterprises and give more employment.

If money were divided up it would soon return to the same hands.

Economic matters must adjust themselves naturally, following the law of supply and demand.

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President Coolidge expressed the capitalists' view in his book, "The Price of Freedom," page 9: "We justify the greater and greater accumulations of capital because we believe that therefrom flows the support of all science, art, learning and the charities which minister to the humanities of life, all carrying their beneficent effects to the people as a whole. Unless this is measurably true our system of civilization ought to stand condemned."

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In July, 1925, Dean, Onatavia & Co., members of the New York Stock Exchange, failed for \$35,000,000, the largest on record, having 2,000 creditors.

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Liberals contend that if gambling in public necessities were eliminated, there would be ample public resources to provide art and learning for the people without making them the recipients of charity.

## Chapter II

### THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., says in his book, "The Personal Relation in Industry"; "The parties to industry are in reality not enemies but partners; they have a common interest; no one can get on without the others." But he admits that the industrial conflict is growing more and more severe.

The partnership, if it exists, has not been satisfactory. The employers decide upon the division of work, time and profits. Not only do they hire and fire at will, but, as pointed out by the Commission on Industrial Relations, they control, by the ownership of the community, the worker's home, food, clothing, actions, speech and in some instances even his religion and politics.

The struggle is for larger dividends on one side and reasonable living conditions on the other.

The President Wilson Industrial Conference of 1919 reported: "The causes of industrial unrest are many. Among others they include the rise in the cost of living, unrestrained speculation, spectacular instances of excessive profits, excessive accumulation and misuse of wealth, inequality in readjustments of wage schedules, release of ideas and emotions by the war, social revolutionary theories imported from Europe, the belief that free speech is restricted, the intermittancy of employment, excessive hours of work in certain factories, lack of adequate housing, unnecessarily high infant mortality in industrial centers, loss of personal contact in large industrial units and the culmination of a growing belief on the part of both employers and employees that a readjustment is necessary to a wholesome continuity of their united effort."

Capital claims that labor shirks on the job, reduces production, breaks contracts, opposes the introduction of new machinery, forces the employment of three men when two could do the work, denies others the right to work, raises the price of commodities, uses force and breaks the law, obtains too large a share of receipts from industry.

Labor claims that wages are reduced before dividends, although wages are the only means of subsistence for the worker while the employer can live on his salary without dividends;



that employers refuse to recognize union labor; that hours are made too long and pay less than the minimum of subsistence; that the worker earns more than his wage or would not be employed, but receives no part of the profits; that there is no stability in his employment; that force is used to suppress labor and that the power of the courts is arrayed against the workers although they constitute the majority of the population.

When a dispute arises over working conditions, the decision is made by the employer, and the employee must conform. He has no redress at law. Either he must accept the dictates of the owners of the business or resign his position. If he protests against unendurable hardships, he is discharged. If he quits and endeavors to find other employment, there is usually difficulty in bettering himself, even if he can afford the time to travel in search of a new job. Rather than see his family starve he takes the best terms offered and is no better off than before.

The only method of ascertaining his right to a decent living in return for his labor is to combine with his fellows and strike. This is legal and is now generally conceded as a correct proceeding, theoretically. As a practical matter, however, labor unions and strikes are opposed by employers with but few exceptions, and the public, being inconvenienced, is often unsympathetic. The workers and their families suffer during the strike and are often obliged to return to work on the same conditions as before.

The records show that between 1881 and 1906 there were 36,757 strikes and lockouts in the United States; in 1917-1918, 7,572, and from 1916 to 1921 an average of 3,343 a year.

In many employments even the right to strike is denied. The Board of Arbitration appointed to settle the dispute between the railroads and engineers said, in 1912—and the same idea holds good today, as shown by the Boston police strike—"A strike in the Army or Navy is mutiny and universally punished as such. The same principle is applied to seamen because of the public necessity involved. A strike among postal clerks, as among the teachers of our public schools, would be unthinkable. In all these cases the employment, to borrow a legal phrase, is affected with a public use, and thus of necessity qualifies the right of free concerted action which exists in private employment."

The U. S. Supreme Court has decided that the Eastern Texas Railroad may abandon service because it would have to run at a loss. The same court held that the right of men to strike is "necessarily surrendered when the men are engaged in public service. They are comparable to soldiers in the ranks who, in the presence of the enemies of their country, may not desert."

The A. F. of L. says it is unfair to permit the dollar to strike and not allow men the same privilege.

John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation says:

"Many employers, including some of the largest corporations, still bitterly oppose all attempts of their men to organize, and will not allow a union member to work for them if they know it. In their efforts to prevent the growth of unionism they are assisted by certain Supreme Court decisions. In one case the Court declared that employers had a perfect right to discharge workmen for joining a union."

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A few examples of prominent strikes will demonstrate the bitterness of the struggle through which organized labor has endeavored to improve its conditions.

### **Homestead**

The Homestead, Pa., strike of 1892 was the first in which the struggle between the American Labor movement and the rising industrial corporations broke into an armed clash on a large scale. Early in the year the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, then the largest union in the country, with over 24,000 members and a strike fund of \$32,000, asked an increase in wages at the Homestead plant of the Carnegie Steel Company. Henry C. Frick, chairman of the company, countered by demanding a wage cut, and the change of the agreement date from July to January, in the slack season. After prolonged negotiations the union called a strike on June 29 to prevent Frick from ignoring the organization and treating with the men as individuals. Early in the morning of July 6, about 300 Pinkerton agents whom Frick had previously hired as guards were towed up the Monongahela River on barges. They were met at the dock by the strikers and their sympathizers, who tried to prevent them from landing. After an all-day battle in which half a dozen men were shot dead on both

sides and several were wounded, the Pinkertons were driven off. State militia were sent in six days later, and remained several months, although there was no further disorder. The strike spread to Pittsburgh, Duquesne, and other steel centers and to other companies, but was called off as lost on November 20. The union treasury was drained, the men went back to work as non-unionists, and the organization received a setback from which it has never recovered.

SOLON DE LEON.

### The Pullman Strike

The following account is taken from Eugene V. Debs' pamphlet, published in 1910.

The strike began May 11, 1894. The Pullman service was tied up. The employees were willing to move the mail cars and all other trains except those having Pullman cars, but President Cleveland used the pretext of obstruction of the mails for federal interference—a pretext fully exposed by Governor Altgeld. He appointed a Strike Commission, on which there were no laboring men, and this Commission reported: "It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman." Deputy marshals were sworn in by the U. S. Government. Superintendent of Police Brennan called them "thugs, thieves and ex-convicts." They burned cars and incited violence that the strikers might be blamed. Judge Woods issued an injunction against the strike and sentenced Debs and some of the strikers to jail, without a trial, for three to six months for violating it. The U. S. Supreme Court upheld this proceeding. The offices of the strikers were sacked and their papers produced in court, but they were refused permission to examine the proceedings of the railroad companies. Evidence for the defense included testimony by the Fire Department that the deputy marshals had cut the hose to prevent extinguishing fires in the cars. After further damaging evidence Judge Grosscup gravely announced that a juror had been taken ill and that the trial could not proceed. Debs said in 1910, 16 years later, "He is still ill." But the strikers served jail sentences, though the trial was never completed, and lost the strike.

Rev. Wm. H. Carwardine, of Pullman, states the causes of the strike: Wages were repeatedly reduced while rents charged by the Company were not reduced. Mr. Pullman agreed that

the members of the grievance committee should not be laid off, but three of them were laid off by the superintendent the next day. Mr. Pullman said he was taking contracts at a loss out of love for his employees. His Company earned 18 per cent in 1893. The average wage of the employees was \$600 a year.

Testimony of Robert T. Lincoln, ex-president of the Pullman Company before the Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915:

Chairman Walsh:—We may assume, I suppose, that there has never been a time in the history of this company when there was any financial reason why a comfortable living wage should not be paid to its employees?

Mr. Lincoln:—I hope not, sir.

### **Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone Case**

Late Saturday evening, February 17, 1906, Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, William D. Haywood its secretary, and George A. Pettibone a former member of the executive committee, were kidnapped at Denver by officers of the state of Idaho, and spirited to Boise in that state, charged with complicity in the murder of Ex-governor Steunenberg by a bomb during the previous December. Moyer and Haywood were at the time of the kidnapping also officers of the Industrial Workers of the World, which had been organized the year before. The kidnapping was done late in the evening, and no opportunity was given for communicating with family, friends, or counsel. The I. W. W. organized widespread defense demonstrations, and collected a defense fund of \$10,982. The chief witness for the prosecution was Harry Orchard, who alleged that he had been hired by an "inner circle" in the miners' federation to place the fatal bomb. He was shown to be a perjurer and a provocative agent with a criminal record. Haywood was acquitted on July 28, 1907, and the cases against Moyer and Pettibone were later dropped. This serious legal case at the very outset of its existence diverted the activity of the I. W. W. from organizing to defense, and led to the withdrawal of the Western Federation of Miners, its largest constituent union, in 1907.

SOLON DE LEON.

### McKees Rocks

This account is from an I. W. W. pamphlet:

Beginning in July, 1909, at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, 8,000 workers of the Pressed Steel Car Company, embracing sixteen different nationalities, waged the most important struggle of the I. W. W. to that date. The strike lasted eleven weeks. The employers resorted to the use of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, known as the "American Cossacks," to intimidate the strikers and browbeat them back to work. This constabulary, is a picked body of armed men recruited for their ability to handle firearms. Every strike in Pennsylvania since the institution of the constabulary has been broken or crippled by them. Men, women and children have been killed and brutally maimed by them with impunity. Their advent upon the scene in McKees Rocks was marked by the usual campaign of brutality. Finally one of the constabulary killed a striker. The strike committee then served notice upon the commander of the troops that for every striker killed or injured by the constabulary, the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. . . . The strikers kept their word. On the next assault by the constabulary, several of them were killed and a number wounded. The troops were driven from the streets and into the plants of the company. An equal number of strikers were killed and about fifty wounded in the battle. This ended the killing on both sides during the remainder of the strike. The McKees Rocks strike resulted in a complete victory for the strikers."

### Los Angeles Times Case

On October 1, 1910, during a building trades strike in Los Angeles, the building of the Los Angeles Times, a paper which had been violent in its denunciation of the strikers, was dynamited, and 21 non-union workers were killed. In 1911, J. J. and J. B. McNamara, A. F. of L. organizers, were arrested. District Attorney Woolwine promised there would be no further prosecutions if they would plead guilty, which they then did, J. J. McNamara being given 15 years (he is now out) and J. G. McNamara life, which sentence he is now serving in San Quentin. Immediately afterwards Woolwine broke his word and in 1915 M. A. Schmidt and David Caplan were betrayed by a spy, Donald Vose, and extradited to Los Angeles. After two trials Schmidt was given life (now serving sentence in San Quentin)



and Caplan ten years, which has now expired with good behavior time. Several other prominent A. F. of L. men were arrested but no other convictions were secured.

MIRIAM DE FORD SHIPLEY.

### **Lawrence Textile Workers, 1912-1913**

After the Massachusetts legislature passed a law reducing the weekly working hours in the mills, the employers cut the wages correspondingly, some girls being paid six to nine dollars a week. 27,000 workers of 27 different dialects resented this cut by a spontaneous strike, and Joseph J. Ettor, general executive board member of the I. W. W., supported by Arturo Giovanitti, William Haywood, James P. Thompson and others gathered this heterogeneous mass of textile workers into one big union. In a remarkably short time the strikers were organized and disciplined and met the cut in wages with the following demands: A general increase in wages of 15 per cent; time and a quarter for overtime; readjustment of the premium system; no discrimination against any striker.

Dynamite was found near the headquarters of the I. W. W., and the strikers were accused of collecting it. The police, however, obtained a confession from Thomas J. Breen, an undertaker of Lawrence and member of the school board, who pleaded guilty of planting the dynamite, asserting that he was paid by William M. Wood, president of the American Woollen Company. The court fined Mr. Breen \$5,000 but imposed no jail sentence. Mr. Wood was later tried and acquitted, an important witness committing suicide.

About \$80,000 was donated by the workers all over the United States to help win this strike. Several hundred of the strikers' children were sent to the homes of sympathizers in New York and other States. Most of these children were found, upon medical examination, to be suffering from malnutrition because of the starvation wages paid their parents in the woollen mills. Many citizens and the law and order elements of Lawrence tried to keep these children from the care, food, clothing and shelter assured them in the homes of workers elsewhere, their cry being, "The children are being kidnapped," "taken from their homes and parents," but at no time did these citizens make provision to take care of the strikers' children.

Nine hundred men and women were arrested and thrown into jail while picketing. John Rand, a Syrian boy of 16, while on the picket line was stabbed in the back with a bayonet in the hands of a militiaman, and died a few moments after reaching the hospital. The police tried to break up the picket line, 23,000 strong, by clubbing the pickets. Some of the strike sympathizers threw coal from the windows and the strikers defended themselves with snow balls and chunks of ice. A sergeant ordered the police to draw their guns and one of them shot and killed Anna La Pizza. Nineteen witnesses swore they saw officer Benoit fire the shot that killed her, but Joseph J. Ettor, and Arturo Giovanitti were arrested charged with being "accessories before the fact" of murder, and Joseph Caruso with being principal. It was held that upon the incitement of Ettor and Giovanitti the strikers had rioted and killed the Italian girl.

The trial lasted over five weeks, the prosecution relying almost wholly on the testimony of private detectives, city police, state police, militiamen and hired thugs. Against this array of witnesses were the workers who were proud of their union and more particularly of the victory over the American Woolen Company, winning a raise of 15 per cent in wages throughout the textile industry of New England, amounting to over \$15,000,000 a year. The books and papers of the I. W. W. were introduced as evidence, and after a bitter speech by the prosecuting attorney, Ettor and Giovanitti insisted, against the advice of their own counsel, on addressing the jury. Their remarkable speeches showed them to be mentally and morally superior individuals and the jury, after deliberating five hours, brought in a verdict of "Not guilty" for the three defendants.

Information from Tom Doyle, of the General Defense Committee and other sources.

### **Calumet**

In the summer of 1913 the copper miners of Calumet, Mich., organizing the Western Federation of Miners, struck for union recognition, the eight-hour day, \$3 a day minimum wage for underground men, a proportionate increase for those working above ground, and a return to the two-man instead of the one-man system of handling drilling machines. The miners were mainly foreign-born, and the town was completely dominated by the copper companies. The state militia was sent in, and

committed acts of great brutality, beating men and riding them down on the sidewalks. The sheriff's office was turned over to Waddell-Mahon gun-men from New York and other cities, who searched houses without warrant, insulted women, and shot two men in cold blood. The local courts were openly favorable to the mine owners. President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners was forcibly driven out of the strike district. On December 24, during a Christmas celebration held by the women's auxiliary of the union, a false alarm of fire was raised and in the resulting panic more than 70 men, women, and children were suffocated and trampled to death. On January 1, 1914, the mine owners made some slight concessions in shorter hours and higher pay, and began taking back men who would agree to leave the union and not to rejoin it. Toward the end of January an investigation was ordered by the House of Representatives. An offer for mediation by the United States Department of Labor was accepted by the strikers but rejected by the owners. The strike was called off in April.

SOLON DE LEON.

### **The Coronado Case**

Damages to the extent of \$2,222,000 were obtained against the United Mine Workers because of a strike called by a local coal miners' union in 1913. This verdict was reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court because of errors. At the re-trial, Judge Pollock, on October 26, 1923, ordered a verdict for the miners on the ground that the destruction of property had not been proved to be due to a conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce.

### **Ford and Suhr Case**

On August 3, 1913, a strike meeting of hop workers was held at the Durst ranch, Wheatland, California, the speakers being Richard ("Blackie") Ford and Herman Suhr, I. W. W. organizers. The hop workers, usually employed in families, were working under unbearable sanitary and economic conditions. A party of county officials, including the sheriff and the district attorney, tried to break up the meeting, and fired on the unarmed workers. A Porto Rican worker seized a gun from one of the invaders and killed the two leaders in order to protect the women and children. District Attorney Manwell and Sheriff Riordan, the Porto Rican and several other workers

were killed. Ford and Suhr, neither of whom fired a shot, were sentenced to life and are at present in Folsom Prison, Ford having recently been denied parole. No attempt was made to prosecute the murderers of the strikers. The eight surviving jurors in the Suhr case have joined in a petition for his pardon (1925).

MIRIAM DE FORD SHIPLEY.

### Ludlow

The Colorado coal miners' strike of 1913-1914 was marked by one of the blackest events in American labor history, the shooting and burning of 19 persons, mainly women and children, by the state militia in the tent colony at Ludlow. The strike began in September, 1913, for recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, an increase in wages, and enforcement of the state mining laws. Soon martial law was declared and the militia was sent to the scene. Private mine guards enrolled in the militia, and under cover of maintaining law and order that body was used to crush the strike. A conference at the end of November broke up on the issue of union recognition. In the following month a federal grand jury indicted several union officials on charges of violating the anti-trust laws by maintaining a monopoly of labor. On the other hand, the jury found that the coal companies had violated the mining statutes. On January 29 the House of Representatives ordered an investigation.

On April 20 the militia surrounded and fired into the tent colony at Ludlow, one of those which the miners had set up on land leased by the union when they were evicted from the company houses at the beginning of the strike. The tents caught fire, and six men, two women, and eleven children were killed. The men were shot; the women and children were suffocated in the pits beneath the blazing tents. A request made by President Wilson to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., controlling the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, that he submit the dispute to arbitration was refused. Wilson then, at the request of the governor, sent 2,000 federal troops, who disarmed the mine guards and the strikers, and deported all strike-breakers who had been brought in since the Ludlow massacre. The militia withdrew at the same time.

A three-year truce proposed by Wilson in September was accepted by the strikers but rejected by the companies because it involved taking back all strikers, establishing a grievance

committee at each mine, and referring any disputes not so settled to a commission of three appointed by the President to represent each side and the public. In December Wilson appointed such a commission to consider future disputes. The strike was discontinued on December 8, 1914.

SOLON DE LEON.

### Paterson Methods

"In Paterson, N. J. . . . it was found that during the strike of the silk workers 2,238 arrests, charging unlawful assembly or disorderly conduct were made and that in all there were 300 convictions in the lower courts. Men arrested for unlawful assembly were held in bail of \$500 to \$5,000. The right of trial by jury was generally denied. Men were arrested for ridiculous reasons, as, for example, for standing on the opposite side of the street and beckoning to men in the mills to come out. This was the allegation on which the charge of unlawful assembly was placed against four men, and for which they were sent to jail in default of \$500 bail, and, although never indicted, the charges still stand against them as a bar to their rights as citizens and voters. Men were fined arbitrarily, as in the case of one who was fined \$10 for permitting strikers to sit on a bench in front of his house. Not more than \$25 worth of damage was done during the entire strike, involving 25,000 workers, and there was no actual violence or attempt at violence on the part of the strikers during the entire strike. Under such conditions the editor of a local paper was arrested, charged with criminal libel, for comparing the conditions in Paterson with the rule of the Cossacks, and four men who sold the papers on the streets were also arrested."

See Report of Commission on Industrial Relations, Vol 1.

### Mesaba Range

On June 2, 1916, 15,000 miners in Minnesota struck for an eight-hour day and \$3 to \$3.50 pay, abolition of the contract system and pay twice a month. Carlo Tresca helped organize the strike and was arrested without warrant, charged with murder after a fight which occurred when he was seven miles away. Five months later the charges were dismissed. The State Labor Commissioner reported to the Governor substantiating the charges of the men against the employers who had refused to treat with the men. The strike was called off September 17, a



victory for the companies, but conditions of work, hours and wages were improved afterwards.

See American Labor Year Book 1917-18.

### The Mooney Case

Extracts from the Report of J. B. Densmore, Director General of Employment, submitted by the Secretary of Labor to the House of Representatives, July 22, 1919, in compliance with their request for information, being Document 157.

"It will be enough to remind you that Billings was tried first; that in September, 1916, he was found guilty, owing largely to the testimony of Estelle Smith, John McDonald, Mellie and Sadie Edeau, and Louis Rominger, all of whom have long since been thoroughly discredited; that when Mooney was placed on trial, in January of the year following, the prosecution decided, for reasons which were obvious, not to use Rominger or Estelle Smith, but to add to the list of witnesses a certain Frank C. Oxman, whose testimony, corroborative of the testimony of the two Edeau women, formed the strongest link in the chain of evidence against the defendant; that on the strength of this testimony Mooney was found guilty; . . .

"The exposure of Oxman's perfidy, involving as it did the district attorney's office, seemed at first to promise that Mooney would be granted a new trial. The district attorney himself, Mr. Charles M. Fickert, when confronted with the facts, acknowledged in the presence of reputable witnesses that he would agree to a new trial. His principal assistant, Mr. Edward A. Cunha, made a virtual confession of guilty knowledge of the facts relating to Oxman, and promised, in a spirit of contrition, to see that justice should be done the man who had been convicted through Oxman's testimony. The trial judge, Hon. Franklin A. Griffin, one of the first to recognize the terrible significance of the exposé and keenly jealous of his own honor, lost no time in officially suggesting the propriety of a new trial. The attorney general of the State, Hon. Ulysses S. Webb, urged similar action in a request filed with the Supreme Court of California.

"Matters thus seemed in a fair way to be rectified, when two things occurred to upset the hopes of the defense. The first was a sudden change of front on the part of Fickert, who now denied that he had ever agreed to a new trial, and whose

efforts henceforth were devoted to a clumsy attempt to white-wash Oxman and justify his own motives and conduct throughout. The second was a decision of the supreme court to the effect that it could not go outside the record in the case—in other words, that judgment could not be set aside merely for the reason that it was predicated upon perjured testimony . . .

"The basic motive underlying all the acts of the prosecution springs from a determination on the part of certain employer interests in the city of San Francisco to conduct their various business enterprises upon the principle of open shop. There has been no other motive worth talking about.

"As for their plan of operations, it was simplicity itself. A terrible crime had been committed, and popular indignation and horror everywhere glowed at fever heat. From the standpoint of the unscrupulous element among the employer interests the opportunity seemed made to order. To blame the outrage on certain agitators in the labor world seemed not only possible, but, owing to various concomitant plausibilities, doubtless appealed to the foes of organized labor as possessing all the elements of a stroke of genius . . .

(Mr. Densmore installed a dictaphone in District Attorney Fickert's office and devotes 56 pages to conversation.)

"The record establishes three sets of facts, each one of which has a bearing upon the question at issue, namely, whether Mooney and his fellow defendants received fair trials at the hands of the district attorney. These three sets of facts are:

"1. That Fickert is in constant association with men and interests of such a nature as to render it incredible that he should be either impartial or honest in the conduct of a case of this nature; that he is and has been for some time past co-operating with notorious jury and case fixers; . . .

"2. That Fickert and his associates have within the past month framed, and conspired to frame, cases with which it was his sworn duty to deal impartially.

"3. That Fickert and his associates, within the past month, have conspired to fabricate evidence with which to convict Mrs. Mooney; and that to this end they have attempted, in the grossest manner, to intimidate and blackmail a prospective woman witness . . .

"Photographs and testimony introduced by the defense showed that Mr. and Mrs. Mooney were on the roof of the

Eilers Building, a mile from the scene of the explosion, at the moment that they were represented by the prosecution as being in Weinberg's automobile in lower Market Street.

"Two witnesses, Mrs. Estelle Edeau and her daughter, who testified in two of the trials, altered their testimony between the two, and were, shown, by the police records, to have been at first unable to identify either Billings or Mooney . . .

"These methods were identical with the ones still in use, as shown in detail in other parts of this report. So thoroughly were they understood by court, jury, and prosecutor that in the trials of Mrs. Mooney and Israel Weinberg, Oxman was not introduced and swift acquittals resulted . . .

"Thus the cases against the defendants had already fallen to pieces before the present investigation began. It only remained to demonstrate that the weakness and dishonesty of the prosecution's testimony was not an accident, but was the result of a consistent policy of conspiracy and corruption. Fickert is seen throughout this report to be prostituting his office in other cases precisely as he prostituted it in the bomb cases, and if there was previously any doubt as to whether a prisoner whom powerful interests desired to convict would receive a fair trial at the hands of Fickert there is now no doubt about the matter whatever . . .

"Ordinarily the relentless persecution of four or five defendants, even though it resulted in unmerited punishment for them all, would conceivably have but a local effect, which would soon be obliterated and forgotten. But in the Mooney case, which is nothing but a phase of the old war between capital and organized labor, a miscarriage of justice would inflame the passions of laboring men everywhere and add to a conviction, already too widespread, that workingmen can expect no justice from an orderly appeal to the established courts."

Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in prison.

### **Everett Massacre**

In 1916 the city of Everett, Washington, refused workers the right to speak on the streets. Under a previous partly Socialist administration this right had been granted. To test it, the Seattle I. W. W. hired a boat, the "Verona," on which members went to Everett to try to speak. Members of the

Chamber of Commerce and other business men of Everett heard of the boat and hid behind bales on the dock. As it approached they fired point blank at the unprepared workers, killing at least seven who are known and wounding 33. Although for the most part unarmed and totally taken by surprise, some of the men on the boat fired back, killing two and wounding 16 of the aggressors. Several I. W. W. men were arrested, given the third degree and railroaded to prison without evidence to connect them as individuals with the killings. No one was ever arrested for the murder of the workers.

MIRIAM DEFORD SHIPLEY.

### Frank H. Little

At Butte, Montana, August 1, 1917, a band of masked men dragged Frank Little, a cripple, from his bed at 3 a. m., took him to the outskirts of the city and hanged him to a railroad trestle. He was a strike leader and a member of the executive board of the I. W. W. No one was prosecuted.

### Bisbee Deportations

The President's Mediation Commission reported in part as follows:

"A strike was called in the Warren district on June 26, 1917, to be effective the following day. While undoubtedly the men sincerely felt that several grievances called for rectification by the companies . . . the grievances were not of such a nature as to have justified the strike. . . . An investigation of the situation in Bisbee was made by an experienced (army) officer. Such investigation was made on June 30 and again on July 2, and after both investigations the officer reported that everything was peaceable and that troops were neither needed nor warranted under existing conditions. . . .

"Early on the morning of July 12 the sheriff and a large armed force, presuming to act as deputies under the sheriff's authority, comprising about 2,000 men, rounded up 1,186 men in the Warren district, put them aboard a train, and carried them to Columbus, N. Mex. The authorities at Columbus refused to permit those in charge of the deportation to leave the men there, and the train carried them back to the desert town of Hermanas, N. Mex., a near-by station. The deportees were wholly without adequate supply of food and water and shelter for two days. At Hermanas the deported men were abandoned by the

guards who had brought them, and they were left to shift for themselves. The situation was brought to the attention of the War Department, and on July 14 the deportees were escorted by troops to Columbus, N. Mex., where they were maintained by the Government until the middle of September.

"The deportation was carried out under the sheriff of Cochise County. It was formally decided upon at a meeting of citizens on the night of July 11, participated in by the managers and other officials of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Co. (Phelps-Dodge Corporation, Copper Queen division) and the Calumet and Arizona Mining Co. . . . The deportation was wholly illegal and without authority in law, either State or Federal. . . . Immediately after the first deportation, and until late in August, the function of the local judiciary was usurped by a body which to all intents and purposes was a vigilance committee, having no authority whatever in law. It caused the deportation of large numbers of others. . . . Among those who were deported from the district and who thereafter were arrested in seeking entrance into it were several who were registered under the selective-draft law and sought to return or remain in the district in order to discharge their legal duty of reporting for physical examination under the draft."

Other reports state that the men were forced into cattle cars, one being killed. After the Government rations were cut off the men drifted to various parts of the country or returned to Bisbee and were arrested. Officials of the Phelps-Dodge Company were indicted for participation in the crime but the trial was never held. Mr. Douglas, the president, claimed that the deportation was an act of patriotism.

### Lawrence

One of the most important strikes at Lawrence started February 3, 1919 and ended the following May with victory for the strikers. At first 32,000 operatives were out, but only about 20,000 stayed out continuously, suffering greatly in spite of \$100,000 collected from the workers of the country. There were newspaper hostility, police brutality, denial of open air meetings even on private property, attempted frame-ups of the leaders and the lynching of two strike leaders. The 48 hour week without reduction of pay was won and has now been established for most textile workers of the northern states.

See American Labor Year Book 1919-20.



### The Steel Strike

The strike started on September 22, 1919, when 365,500 men in the iron and steel mills in ten States quit work. Their demands were (1) Right of collective bargaining. (2) Reinstatement of all men discharged for union activities with pay for lost time. (3) Eight hour day. (4) One day's rest in seven. (5) Abolition of 24-hour shift. (6) Increases in wages sufficient to guarantee American standard of living. (7) Standard scales of wages in all trades and classification of workers. (8) Double rates of pay for all overtime after 8 hours, holiday and Sunday work. (9) Check-off system of collecting union dues and assessments. (10) Principles of seniority to apply in the maintenance, reduction and increase of working forces. (11) Abolition of company unions. (12) Abolition of physical examination of applicants for employment.

Judge Gary, chairman of the board of the U. S. Steel Co., told the stockholders he had no idea why the men walked out. The Interchurch World Movement report disclosed the existence of the 12-hour day, seven day week and 24-hour shift; a military boss system with only theoretical and not actual permission to join labor unions, underpayment of unskilled labor, "under cover" men employed; refusal of the Corporation to confer with the men or to obey the recommendations of the War Labor Board, and misrepresentation by the press.

The vote of the men was 98 per cent for the strike provided no agreement could be reached with the employers. Judge Gary refused to confer, writing "As heretofore publicly stated and repeated, our Corporation and subsidiaries, although they do not combat labor unions as such, decline to discuss business with them. . . ." Samuel Gompers called on President Wilson who agreed to use his influence with Judge Gary to bring about a conference. He was unable to accomplish that, and instead telegraphed Mr. Gompers requesting that the strike be held off until after the Industrial Conference on October 6. Mr. Gompers tried to effect this but large numbers of men were being discharged for union sympathies and all refused to wait longer.

Judge Gary said the strike was political, the first step in a revolution, and was a strike of foreigners. John A. Fitch, writing in *The Survey* for November 8, 1919, denied those statements, and proved by specific instances the incorrectness of Judge Gary's assertion that men were never discharged for join-

ing a labor union. Meetings were broken up, the right of free speech and free assembly was denied. Outrages were committed by the State Constabulary and local officials. To feed the men and their families \$418,141 was collected, but was entirely insufficient and the men drifted back to work until there were but 100,000 out on January 8, 1920, when the strike was called off, a complete victory for the employers. The workers lost almost \$100,000,000 in wages; 18 men and women were killed and hundreds seriously clubbed. The steel companies lost two men and millions of dollars in profits.

See "The Steel Workers" by John A. Fitch, and "The Great Steel Strike," by William Z. Foster.

### Centralia

During a parade at Centralia, Washington, on Armistice Day, 1919, the American Legion attacked the I. W. W. hall and were met with armed resistance, Lieutenant Warren Grimm and four other attackers being killed. Wesley Everest, one of the I. W. W.'s was lynched by the paraders. The same year as the riot, Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte post of the Legion, declared, "The I. W. W. in Centralia who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act. . . . The reports of the evidence at the coroner's inquest show that the attack was made before the firing started." Newspapers at the time neglected to make the public realize the significance of Dr. Frank Bickford's testimony at the inquest and at the trial. He said, "When the parade stopped in front of the I. W. W. hall, I offered to lead a raid if enough would follow. But others pushed ahead of me, forced open the door, and then the shots came from inside." An Associated Press reporter was forcibly driven from town because he had telegraphed the actual testimony of Dr. Frank Bickford at the coroner's inquest describing the raid on the hall in which he took part. Defense attorneys had their effects rifled and their mail opened, and witnesses whose testimony was favorable to the I. W. W. were interfered with.

Eight members of the I. W. W. were convicted, sentenced to 25 to 40 years and are still in prison. Six members of the jury have signed affidavits declaring that they were terrorized into convicting the accused men, and that they believe them innocent of murder. Eye witnesses have testified that an attack

was premeditated by the paraders, and that Lieutenant Grimm led the assault before a gun had been fired. Juror Torpen has made affidavit that the first ballot in the jury room was unanimous for acquittal. The judge had ruled out all evidence of a conspiracy by service men to raid the hall, but permitted evidence of a conspiracy by the defendants to shoot the marchers.

### **Amalgamated Clothing Workers**

Many successful strikes have been conducted by this independent union in various cities and employers have endeavored to break its power. On December 8, 1920, a lockout was started involving 60,000 workers in New York and 15,000 in Baltimore and Boston. This lasted five months, costing the union about \$2,000,000 for relief and legal expenses, and the employers about \$10,000,000 worth of business. The Manufacturers Association of Boston broke its agreement with the Amalgamated, but Hart, Schaffner & Marx and others renewed their contracts. Armed guards were hired by the employers, injunctions were obtained against picketing, in issuing one of which Judge Van Sicken said the courts stood as "the representatives of capital." Suits for alleged damages amounting to \$2,400,000 were started against the Amalgamated, and by them against the employers for \$1,000,000, all of which were dropped at the end of the lockout. The Amalgamated agreed to accept the mediation of the New York State Industrial Commission; the employers refused. Even the American Federation of Labor attempted to injure the Amalgamated which is not affiliated with it. Gradually settlements were made with individual employers and on June 1, 1921, a settlement was arranged with all but a few manufacturers who withdrew from their organization. This was the first large-scale victory for American labor against the anti-union movement that followed the war.

See American Labor Year Book 1919-20 and 1921-22.

### **Coal Strikes**

In September and November, 1919, 478,000 coal miners struck, demanding the increase in pay that they had asked for two years before. The employers would not deal with the miners' union. Coal was badly needed by the public. President Wilson said: "A strike under these circumstances is not only unjustifiable, it is unlawful." The miners were not rioting or threatening property. The Government issued an injunc-

tion against the miners, not the operators, restraining them from discussing the strike or paying money to strikers and commanding the union officers to call off the strike. This is said to be the most drastic injunction ever issued. It was based on the Lever Act, which had expired with the war, was later declared in part unconstitutional and was never intended to be used in labor disputes, according to its proponents in Congress. The miners were obliged to obey the injunction and resume work. Later the President's commission decided that the men had been justified in their demand for 14 per cent increased wages. It was discovered that the men had been given only 200 to 249 days' work in a year and that their annual income was insufficient to support their families. W. G. McAdoo testified that the profits of the coal operators had run as high as 2,000 per cent.

On March 31, 1922, about 600,000 miners stopped work, the bituminous workers demanding a continuation of existing wages, the anthracite asking for an increase; the former wanted a 6-hour day, the latter an 8-hour. Other demands were also made. On July 10, President Harding suggested a settlement which the miners rejected. Then the Government offered the operators protection. In Pennsylvania and Ohio the State militia was called out. The only outbreak was at Herrin (which see in index). The men were all back at work in the bituminous fields by August 30, and the anthracite miners by September 2, on the old terms. A Coal Inquiry Commission was appointed by the Senate, but its report was of little value.

On September 1, 1923, about 150,000 anthracite miners stopped working the Pennsylvania mines. Their demands were a 20 per cent increase in wages and the check-off. The operators agreed to leave the matter to arbitration, but the miners refused. Governor Pinchot's compromise was accepted by both sides.

#### **Harrison, Arkansas**

In February, 1921, the Missouri & North Arkansas Railroad tried to force the workers to accept lower wages. A strike followed which lasted for two years until, in January, 1923, a mob rounded up, beat and arrested a number of strikers, including E. C. Gregor, who had been left by the sheriff at the court house when the other prisoners were taken to jail. Two automobiles filled with men drew up at the court house, dragged

Gregor to a railway bridge and hanged him. Later they flogged a capitalist who furnished bail for a striker and ran the other strikers out of town. The mob was exculpated by the investigating committee, although it was found that Gregor had not been guilty of burning bridges as accused. They had been set on fire by live coals from the locomotive fire boxes. The Citizens' Court of Harrison congratulated itself on accomplishing more in the suppression of union labor in two days than the State authorities had achieved in two years.

See "The Harrison Riot or the Reign of the Mob," by Rev. J. K. Faris and files of the American Civil Liberties Union.

### **Railroad Shopmen's Strike**

On July 1, 1922, about 400,000 shopmen quit work in the repair shops of many railroads in protest against the decision of the U. S. Railroad Labor Board to reduce wages by \$60,000,000, following previous cuts of \$525,000,000. Other grievances were wiping out time and a half for overtime and farming out shop work to outside firms not affected by the award of the Labor Board in 1920 which increased wages. On July 11, President Harding issued a proclamation urging a settlement. He ignored the issue of a living wage, denied by the Board as "mellifluous phraseology," and implied that the men should work for the reduced wages offered. The workers declined to obey the Board, as the railroads, according to Samuel Gompers, had done with impunity 104 times. The railway executives declined to meet the workers to discuss the strike.

In 1924, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the conviction of eight leaders of the strikers for conspiracy to interfere with the mails when they abandoned the trains at Needles, California, in 1922.

By the end of 1922 the cost of the strike to the railroads was estimated as \$150,000,000 and to the strikers as \$177,535,524. The strike was not formally terminated until February, 1925, the railroads claiming a victory because they were able to operate. The men claim they stopped the unjustified drive for reduced wages, and the contracting outside the railroad shops, and forced recognition of the value of labor unions.

### **Herrin Massacre**

The so-called "Herrin Massacres" have been used as an argument against unionism by all the open-shop forces in this



country. In briefs submitted to the United States Coal Commission the operators featured Herrin as an outstanding example of the use of violence by the United Mine Workers of America.

While the Illinois Mine Workers' Union (District 12, U. M. W. of A.) issued a pamphlet called "The Other Side of Herrin" in an attempt to refute some of the fantastic accounts of the rioting written in the New York offices of press-agents for the operators, this pamphlet had a necessarily limited circulation and the majority of people still believe that the riots at the Lester strip-mine four miles from the mining town of Herrin were a sudden and unprovoked flaming up of the mob spirit.

Uncontroverted evidence brought forth at the two trials that followed the rioting showed the contrary to be the case. This evidence told the story of a long series of provocations on the part of hired gunmen, brought to the Lester mine to guard non-union workers, provocations that had their climax in the killing of striking union miners. For ten days prior to the riots a powder train had been laid that finally and inevitably resulted in an explosion.

W. J. Lester, a Cleveland soft-coal operator was owner of a strip mine that lay half-way between the towns of Herrin and Marion, the county seat of Williamson. When it was evident, early in 1922, that there would be a national strike of the coal-diggers, Lester approached several other operators with the proposition that he continue to work his mine, non-union. Those familiar with conditions in southern Illinois warned him against any such adventure. They pointed out that there was one hundred per cent union organization in the State, that the Illinois Mine Workers with a membership of ninety thousand was the strongest unit of organized labor in the country and that the union card was the dearest possession of the rank and file of the diggers, because it symbolized better working conditions, an opportunity for a more abundant life. One of Lester's closest business associates bluntly told him that he was a "fool" to think of working his strip with non-union men and that he would have to go it alone.

Lester, however, had invested heavily in mine machinery. He owed money on the huge shovels, one of them used in digging the Panama Canal, which stripped the overlay from the coal, and he saw the chance of enormous profit in selling coal in Chicago during the strike. He entered into negotiations with

the Thiel Detective Agency of Chicago and other agencies to furnish him men and ammunition to guard his non-union men recruited from the flop-houses of Chicago. When the cessation of work was declared, in April 1922, Lester obtained permission from the head of the Herrin local to continue to work his steam-shovels to strip the dirt from the coal. It was distinctly understood by all parties to this agreement that the shovels were to be worked by union men and that under no circumstances could coal be shipped out of the mine.

On June 15th, under the leadership of Lester's one-legged Superintendent McDowell, who openly boasted that he was a trained "union-buster" and that he had helped put Alex Howat, the miners' idol, in jail in Kansas, a commissary car and some forty armed guards carrying high power rifles and revolvers arrived at the mine, together with seventy-five non-union men who began to load coal into the cars.

Representatives of the miners' union made immediate protest. They were shown machine-guns, hand-grenades and a ton of ammunition stored in the company's offices and told that Lester intended to run his mine "if he had to run it with blood." The guards went out on the public roads and warned all passersby to keep away from the mine. They stopped machines, flourished their weapons in the faces of the occupants, beat up three young men, none of them miners, who were driving by the mine at night, insulted the wives and daughters of farmers in the neighborhood, cut through and shut off a road that had been used by the public for generations and generally aroused the wrath of the quick-tempered community. On June 21st, Jordan Henderson, an unarmed miner standing at a farmer's house a half-mile from the mine was shot through the heart by a bullet fired from over the mine embankment by Superintendent McDowell, according to a statement issued from the hospital by one of the gunmen wounded in the ensuing rioting. This sent a crowd of some two thousand armed men out to attack the mine.

The guards with their machine guns and rifles stood off the attackers armed with revolvers and shot-guns for one night. The following morning, however, McDowell and his men surrendered. They were marched along the road to Herrin apparently with the idea of putting them on a train bound for Chicago. On the way, however, a crowd came up from Herrin,

took the guards away from their original captors and butchered twenty-three of them in shockingly cruel manner. Eleven miners were tried of the two hundred and more indicted for participation in the rioting. There were two trials lasting six months and the verdict was the same in both "not guilty." States Attorney Duty nolleed the other indictments. The two juries were composed for the most part of farmers and were pronounced satisfactory by both sides. The Chicago Chamber of Commerce contributed \$75,000 to the cause of prosecuting the miners who were defended by Angus W. Kerr, chief counsel for the Illinois Mine Workers Union. President Frank Farrington of the mine workers stated that the action of the Chamber of Commerce had made it plain that the prosecution of the miners was being financed and inspired by anti-union interests and that his union would accept the challenge by assessing its membership for the heavy expenses of the trials. Attorney Otis Glenn, for the prosecution, made a statement after the first trial that the Herrin mob was not led by a union man and that the union was not on trial. All of the defendants were union members however. Neither Lester nor any of his gunmen were indicted.

The disorders that have occurred in Herrin since the trials which ended in April, 1923, have no connection with the Lester mine riots. They have arisen from the attempts of the Ku Klux Klan to oust the elected labor officials in Williamson.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

### **John E. Merrick**

On May 19, 1923, Merrick was indicted for planting a bomb on the premises of the Knipe Bros. shoe factory at Haverhill, Mass., on January 4, 1923. The bomb was found to be non-explosive. A reward of \$2,000 was offered by the owners of the factory. The police raided Merrick's shop without warrant and "found" several pieces of wire similar to those in the bomb. Those active in his defense claim that the bomb was charged against him because he was a union sympathizer. His defense is being conducted by the Workers' Defense Conference, 14 Water St., Haverhill, Mass.

### **Martin Tabert**

On December 15, 1921, Martin Tabert, 22 years old, of North Dakota was arrested in Leon County, Florida, for stealing a ride on a train. He was fined \$25, but, being unable to

pay, was sent to jail for 90 days. He telegraphed for money and \$75 was sent by his parents in care of the sheriff who did not permit Tabert to receive it. Instead, the young man was leased for a year with other prisoners to the Putnam Lumber Company in whose camp he died as a result of a whipping administered by the "Whipping boss." The publication of a pamphlet containing these facts resulted in investigations and a change in the custom of leasing prisoners in Florida.

### Injunctions in Labor Disputes

Organized labor feels much aggrieved over the use of injunctions issued by the courts in hundreds if not thousands of labor disputes, practically always in favor of the employers, even though no damage to property has been threatened during the strike in question.

The Pennsylvania Railroad applied for an injunction to restrain the Railroad Labor Board from publishing the violation by the Pennsylvania of an order of the Board, and actually won in the district court, but the U. S. Supreme Court permitted publication, censuring the Pennsylvania as "refusing to comply with the decisions of the Labor Board and thus defeating the purpose of Congress."

One of the fundamental objects of the use of injunctions is to make punishment more sure by avoiding trial by jury, which has always been a principle of American criminal law. In no other country is the injunction used to so great an extent in labor disputes as in the United States.

In the following cases, which are representative of many others in the state and lower federal courts, the United States Supreme Court upheld injunctions (i. e., court orders) granted against labor unions ordering the officers or members not to do the specified things enjoined. If the person enjoined is charged with disobeying the injunction, the court which issued the injunction hears the case, almost always without a jury, and if satisfied of his disobedience, holds the offender in contempt of court and imposes a jail sentence. Injunctions are supposedly granted only where the acts enjoined would result in "irreparable damage" to the party seeking injunction, that is, where money damages would not compensate for the injury.

The late Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina stated that injunctions caused increasing social unrest because

they deprived men of trial by jury. Referring to the Supreme Court, he added:

The courts are very slow to adopt economic ideas contained in the laws which the legislature has enacted. The judges are generally elderly men, and most of them have been employed, before they went on the bench, by great corporations. They, unconsciously to themselves, are biased in favor of the view they advocated when they practiced at the bar. When they go on the bench they are still the same men, and unconsciously they put in force, sitting there, the ideas they advocated at the bar."

Justice John Ford of the Supreme Court of N .Y. said: "The work of years by legislators and reformers to enact to a progressive law can be wiped away in a fleeting moment by a single judge who imposes his peculiar political and economic views on the people. . . . There is a tendency in the courts to back the employer against the employee, to serve the rich rather than the poor, to espouse the cause of the mighty instead of the weak and lowly. . . . Judges are really selected by lawyers who in turn are the employees of wealthy men and large corporations."

WILLIAM FLOYD

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The American Federation of Labor listed the Buck Stove & Range Company in its "we do not patronize" list because a local of the A. F. of L. had gone on strike against that company. The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia enjoined this blacklist against the company. (33 app. D. C. 83, 516; 1908.) While holding the injunction proper, the Supreme Court reversed a conviction of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison for contempt of court because of error in the contempt proceedings (*Gompers v. Buck Stove & Range Co.*, 221 U. S. 418; 1911).

The case of *In re Debs* (158 U. S. 564, 1894) arose out of the great Pullman strike in 1894. The railroad unions refused to handle trains to which Pullman cars were attached, even where such trains carried the mails. The United States Government, because of its interest in the transportation of the mails and its control over interstate commerce, brought an action for and secured an injunction virtually forbidding the strike. Debs, then an officer of the American Railway Union, was held to be in contempt of court, and in this proceeding the court re-



fused to release him on a writ of habeas corpus and held the injunction valid. A similar injunction was issued against the Railroad Shop Crafts Unions in the 1922 strike, the purposes of which were declared to be illegal by virtue of the violence attending the strike.

In *Hitchman Coal & Coke v. Mitchell* (245 U. S. 229, 1917) an effort of the United Mine Workers of America to organize the West Virginia field was enjoined because the company had employment contracts—of which fact the union had notice—in which its employees agreed not to join the union. In these circumstances the calling of a strike to unionize the mines was held to be malicious.

In *Duplex Printing Co. v. Deering* (254 U. S. 443, 1920) the International Association of Machinists, in an effort to unionize a Michigan factory, carried out a secondary boycott, threatening sympathetic strikes and other retaliatory measures against companies installing presses manufactured by the boycotted Michigan factory. The union, in resisting the injunction proceedings, relied upon the Clayton Act, which protects employees against injunctions in trade disputes with their employers unless property damage is threatened. But the court held that that protection extended to employees only in disputes with their own employers, and that here the boycott directed against the presses of another employer might be enjoined.

In *American Steel Foundries v. Tri-City Central Trades Council* (257 U. S. 184, 1921) it was held that the Tri-City Central Trades Council had sufficient interest in wage rates in its vicinity to warrant it in calling and participating in a strike though only two employees of the American Steel Foundries actually went on strike. An injunction was granted, however, because of the character of the picketing—there had been three assaults in the course of the picketing, and three or four groups of pickets with four to twelve men in a group had been active. Chief Justice Taft declared that in the particular circumstances of the case the union should be limited to only one picket at each factory door.

CAROL WEISS KING

### Unconstitutionality

Nowhere in our state and Federal constitution has any power been conferred upon our courts to declare laws enacted by the

legislatures or Congress to be unconstitutional and, therefore, null and void. Our courts long ago assumed that power and argued themselves into the possession of the right to veto legislative enactments, and not until recent years has any concerted attempt been made to deprive our courts of that arrogated power or to limit its exercise.

It is true that the attacks upon legislation as unconstitutional have not always been successful. Many laws to which exception has been taken have been declared constitutional, sometimes wisely and sometimes unwisely. For example, certain provisions of the Espionage Act, adopted by Congress upon the entry of the United States into the World War which clearly violated the free speech and free press guaranties of the Federal Constitution, were declared constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the State of New York the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, an intermediate appellate court, held constitutional the notorious Lusk Laws, which directly prohibited the operation of certain private schools and the conduct of private courses of instruction unless licenses should first be obtained from one of the state departments, and the indirect purpose of which laws was the throttling of freedom of expression upon social and political questions. Under these Lusk Laws, also, school teachers in our public schools were required to establish their loyalty to the Federal and state governments and an untainted adherence to a social and political viewpoint acceptable to the powers controlling our schools and state government.

Throughout the states innumerable laws have been declared constitutional or unconstitutional by the courts. Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution the Supreme Court of the United States has invalidated as unconstitutional some forty-eight acts of Congress in addition to various state statutes.

Among recent cases in which acts of Congress were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States are the following:

*Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.* in 1895, (vol. 157 of United States Reports, page 429) which declared unconstitutional the Income Tax Act of 1894 as a direct tax.

*James v. Bowman* in 1903 (vol. 190 of United States Reports, page 127) which declared unconstitutional provisions of an act of May 31, 1870, providing for punishment of individuals, who, by means of bribery, prevent persons to whom the right of suffrage

is granted by the Fifteenth Amendment from exercising that right, on the ground that the provisions of the Amendment apply to abridgements of the right by the United States, or by any state, and not to acts of individuals.

*Hodges v. United States* in 1906 (vol. 203 of United States Reports, page 1) which declared unconstitutional an act making it an offense against the United States for private individuals to compel negro citizens, by intimidation and force to desist from performing their contracts of employment, as beyond the scope of the Thirteenth Amendment.

*Adair v. United States* in 1908 (vol. 208 of United States Reports, page 161) which declared unconstitutional provisions of an act of June 1, 1898, making it a criminal offense against the United States for an agent or officer of an interstate carrier to discharge an employee because of his membership in a labor organization, as an invasion of the rights of personal liberty and of property, as guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

*Hammer v. Dagenhart* in 1918 (vol. 247 of United States Reports, page 251) which declared unconstitutional the first Child Labor Act of September 1, 1915, as an invalid attempt by Congress, acting under its power to regulate commerce, to control to the practical exclusion of the states, all manufacture of articles intended for interstate shipment.

*Evans v. Gore* in 1920 (vol. 253 of United States Reports, page 245) which declared unconstitutional a provision of an act of February 24, 1919, so far as it imposes a tax upon the income of judges of the courts of the United States, including their salaries, as a violation of a section of the Constitution, which provides that the compensation of judges shall not be diminished during their term of office. The court may have rendered a sound legal argument supporting this decision and a similar one in *Buffington v. Day*, above mentioned, but, nevertheless, the protection afforded to judicial salaries by this decision may evoke a smile or two.

*United States v. L. Cohen Grocery Co.* in 1921 (vol. 255 of United States Reports, page 41) which declared unconstitutional the provision of the so-called Lever Act of October 22, 1919, making it unlawful to make any unjust or unreasonable charge in dealing in necessities, because it fixes no ascertainable standard of guilt and does not adequately inform those accused of the nature and cause of the accusation against them, as required by

the Fifth and Sixth Amendments. It will be remembered that other portions of the Lever Act, a war measure which, in effect, prohibited labor strikes in connection with the production and transportation of necessities, was declared constitutional by the courts.

*Newberry v. United States* in 1921 (vol. 256 of United States Reports, page 232) which declared unconstitutional provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act of June 25, 1910, so far as it applies to party primaries or conventions as not within the power conferred on Congress by the section of the Constitution which regulates the manner of holding elections.

*Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.* in 1922 (vol. 259 of United States Reports, page 20) which declared unconstitutional provisions of the second Child Labor Act of February 24, 1919, on the ground that it was manifestly not a tax law, as it purported to be, but was intended to regulate the employment of children, which is a matter reserved to the states under the Tenth Amendment.

*Adkins v. Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia* in 1923 (vol. 43 of Supreme Court Reports, page 394) which declared unconstitutional the Minimum Wage Act of September 19, 1918, relating to the District of Columbia only, as an arbitrary interference with freedom of contract in violation of the Fifth Amendment.

In recent years proposals have been made in Congress and in political campaigns for terminating or for regulating or limiting the power of the Supreme Court of the United States with regard to the annulling of legislation. The discussions have, as a rule, been directed only against the Supreme Court of the United States, but our state courts are similarly involved, in a smaller degree, in connection with the consideration of laws enacted by the states and applicable only within the states. Some have proposed that a two-thirds or three-fourths majority vote of the court be required before a law can be declared unconstitutional. Some have demanded a unanimous vote of the court. Some would permit the people by popular vote to recall a decision of the court annulling a law as unconstitutional. Some would make a decision of the court declaring a law unconstitutional subject to veto by an act of Congress.

The Supreme Court of the United States is an appointive one. Political presidents appoint the judges. They are selected from the ranks of practising lawyers or judges of inferior courts who

have either actually participated in political conflicts or have aligned themselves with one or the other of the two major political parties. There is never a guaranty of impartiality on the part of a judge. Learning, wisdom and sound judgment are all too often influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the social and political views and contacts and by the economic interests of the judges.

Surely, in any event, a single judge or a small minority of a court should not be permitted to decide the fate of legislation enacted after prolonged debates by legislative committees and upon the floors of our legislatures and of Congress.

S. JOHN BLOCK.

In declaring unconstitutional the Pennsylvania Old Age Assistance law of 1923, the Court of Common Pleas decided it was an offense against the State Constitution of 1874, saying in part: "This Act manifests a desire to do good; it indicates a love toward mankind; an effort to promote happiness; in fact, it comes within all the definitions of benevolence. . . . We are left in no doubt that this statute offends against Section 18, Article III, of the Constitution and must therefore be declared void."

Bulletin 321 of the U. S. Department of Labor describes 300 labor laws that have been declared unconstitutional.

### **Violence**

In the industrial conflict violence has often been used to attain the desired end. Labor has been guilty on numerous occasions, but the destructive deeds have usually been the acts of fanatical individuals and not the premeditated assault of organized groups. William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn urged, in 1911, the worker to "use any weapon that will win his fight," and declared that, as "the present laws of property are made by and for the capitalists, the workers should not hesitate to break them." Very few other instances of advocacy of law-breaking are found in the announcements of labor leaders. The I. W. W., for instance, passed the following resolution in 1918: "We, the General Executive Board of said Industrial Workers of the World do hereby declare that said organization does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reforms."

Robert M. La Follette wrote:

"In this great struggle the workers' weapon is the ballot. It is an effective and all powerful weapon. Wielded with intelligence for a righteous cause, it can not fail to win.



Shun, as you would the plague, all who counsel resort to force and violence. The overthrow of government by violence will gain the worker nothing but additional hardship and suffering for himself and his family. If the American people do not have sufficient intelligence to secure and hold control of government through the ballot, they would not have the intelligence to retain the control of government if they were to secure that control by force."

On the other hand, employers have openly made statements like the following:

"As for the Bolsheviks, we have a way of dealing with them out west, we string them up."—Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon. ("New Republic," January 21, 1920.)

"We have a flabby public opinion which would wring its hands in anguish if we took the labor leader by the scruff of his neck, backed him up against a wall and filled him with lead. Countries which consider themselves every bit as civilized as we are do not hesitate about such matters for a moment."—Wall Street Journal.

"Do not become a Bolshevik. If you feel like fighting, go out and smash a Red. It is great fun knocking them off soap boxes. . . . We will get you a job, and perhaps tide you over financially in exchange for a Bolshevik's scalp."—Treat 'Em Rough, Guy Empey's magazine.

"The necessary implements can be obtained at any hardware store" for getting rid of Bolsheviks.—Guy Empey.

"If I had my way with these ornery wild-eyed Socialists and I. W. W.'s, I would stand them up before a firing squad and save space on our ships."—Billy Sunday.

Judge H. B. Shain, County Circuit Court, Sedalia, Mo., was reported by the Appeal to Reason to have declared that a firing squad was meant for such men as John Waxburg, to whom he denied citizenship papers.

The New York Times reports I. F. Marcossou: "The American Bolsheviks, otherwise the I. W. W., need the firing squad instead of the Federal inquiry."

"You cannot deal with the Bolsheviks in any other way than through their own system. Their doctrine is the kind of doctrine that brooks no answer. The only way to deal with them is to kill them off."—Ex-President Taft. ("Methodist Social Service Bulletin," June, 1919.)

"The trouble in Lawrence is not a strike, it's a mob. More severe punishments must be made possible in order to stamp out anarchy. . . . For that's all this sort of thing amounts to. . . . When the time arrives, they will be cleaned up in first class shape."—Henry Skeffington, U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

"One night six men of 'sand' called at Frank Little's hotel, took him from his bed, and in the most quiet and orderly way imaginable, hanged him to a railroad bridge until he was dead."—Dr. William T. Hornaday in a book published for the American Defense Society.

Basil M. Manly, joint chairman with Wm. H. Taft, of the War Labor Board, said: "Many employers stir up Bolshevism among their employees. In many cases of alleged disorderly conduct and sabotage reported to the Board, it was found that employers had themselves deliberately hired operatives and detectives and strike-breaking agencies to go among the men and preach sabotage and instigate violence so as to discredit organized labor."

"There are men walking about the streets of this city tonight who ought to be taken out at sunrise and shot for treason. . . . There are some newspapers published in this city every day, the editors of which deserve conviction and execution for treason."—Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, before the Union League Club, August 15, 1917.

"If I had my way, I would take them out in the yard every morning and shoot them, and the next day would have a trial to see whether they were guilty."—Secretary of State Langtry of Massachusetts, as quoted by the New Republic, Jan. 21, 1920. This was a public address delivered two years after the war.

"I am against all kinds of mob rule. But if you had a little martial law up there at that time—that is law, if it is necessary—and just turn the Legion boys loose on them—martial law is law."—Prosecuting attorney in criminal syndicalism case, People vs. Steelink at Los Angeles.

"I'll use any weapon, cannon, hand grenade or gas, if anything starts down there. My men are familiarizing themselves with the use of tear gas. It is very painful and will calm down any agitator. We'll gas a camp and go in and get anybody we want. There'll be no opposition after they've had a good dose of gas. The men will not strike, but I believe in preparedness,

and we're getting ready."—Adjutant-General Pat Hamrock, of Colorado, March 16, 1922.

"What we need is a new definition of treason. Then we can use the side of a barn for those who would destroy our government."—Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, Feb. 1, 1920.

"Get rid of all I. W. W. and other un-American organizations. Change the administration and deport the radicals or use the rope as at Centralia."—Employers' Association of Seattle, January, 1920.

"It would be a waste of time to have them arrested and tried. The best thing to do is to shoot them and not wait for Sunrise either. The sooner the better, even if there is not time to permit them counsel or benefit of clergy."—Sacramento Bee in 1919, discussing an I. W. W. case.

"Load up the riot guns for immediate use and give them a reception with hot lead. We don't want any Reds here and we will go the limit to keep them out."—Mayor Borewald of Davenport, Iowa. (N. Y. Times, Jan. 9, 1919.)

The restraint of workers is illustrated by remarks of Judge Bourquin in the case of Jackson (263 Fed. 110): "From the record it appears that from August, 1918, to February, 1919, the Butte union of the Industrial Workers of the World was dissatisfied with working places, conditions and wages in the mining industry, and to remedy them was discussing ways and means, including strike if necessary. In consequence its hall and orderly meetings were several times raided and mobbed by employers' agents and soldiers duly officered, acting by federal authority and without warrant or process. The union members, men and women, many of them citizens, limited themselves to oral protests, though in the circumstances the inalienable right and law of self-defense justified resistance to the last dread extremity."

The Commission on Industrial Relations in a report approved by four members (page 266), said: "We find that the direct and proximate cause of the killing of men, women and children, destruction of property and looting of the homes of the striking miners in the Southern Colorado coal fields during the strike therein was the arbitrary refusal of the coal mine operators to meet and confer with the representatives of the workers in their several mines. . . . We find that the final and full re-

sponsibility for the refusal to confer with said representatives, and for all the deplorable results which followed such refusal, must be placed upon Mr. John D. Rockefeller and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr."

If both sides are to blame, it should be remembered that the struggle in one case is for dividends on capital, while labor strives for the bare means of subsistence in return for work done.

See "Is Violence the Way Out," by John Haynes Holmes; "Violence in the Labor Movement," by Robert Hunter.

## Chapter III

### OPPRESSION BY GOVERNMENT

#### Declaration of Independence

*We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it. . . . When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security.*

"I am afraid I have not got as much reverence for the Declaration of Independence as I should have because it has made certain untruths immortal. The Declaration of Independence would be rejected by any political party of the present day as a platform as being palpably insincere and dishonest."—President Theodore Roosevelt.

#### Constitution of the United States

*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for the redress of grievances.*

*The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.*

*In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed. . . .*

*Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.*

*No state. . . shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.*



When our Federal or State governments enact legislation that violates the principles of liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence, or is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and when such legislation is illegally enforced on the pretense of maintaining law and order, or is misconstrued to include powers of regulation never intended by the legislators, the victims of the oppressive statutes are not the only rebels against governmental methods. Liberty-loving people turn away from a system that abandons the principle of equality and freedom inaugurated by our forefathers.

The attempt to use the war as an excuse for suppressing the labor and radical movement must be judged with the dates of the prosecutions in mind—most of them after peace was made, when no war emergency existed. Congressman Huddleston says that propaganda for drastic laws aimed at freedom of speech originated with big financial interests.

### **Alien and Sedition Laws**

Enacted in 1798, when the French revolution seemed as menacing as the Russian revolution does now. The Alien Law permitted the President to deport aliens who were considered dangerous to the safety of the United States. The Sedition Law provided punishment for scandalous attacks in writing against the Government or for exciting resistance to law or for aiding any foreign nation against the United States.

Thomas Jefferson assailed the Sedition Act as unconstitutional and pardoned all prisoners when he became President. Congress eventually refunded the fines paid.

### **Alien Laws**

In 1903 Congress debarred aliens who were anarchists, or who advocated the overthrow of government, and in 1907, included other extreme radicals.

The Deportation Act of October 16, 1918, amended May 10, 1920, added to the proscribed classes those who teach the unlawful destruction of property or are members of any organization that advocates the overthrow of government or teaches opposition to all organized government. These aliens can be deported if they have gained admission, or if at any time they acquire such views while living here.

The law is apparently aimed at dangerous men, but as no judge or jury passes on the undesirability of the aliens, the deci-

sion being left to the Secretary of Labor or his subordinates, or immigration officials, injustice has resulted.

Zechariah Chafee says, in his book, "Freedom of Speech," "The hated statute of 1798 was a temporary measure called forth by impending war, and provided that the foreigner should first be served with a notice and be given time to depart voluntarily. . . . The Act of 1918 is a permanent measure, and provides for immediate arrest, confinement and expulsion, without notice, or opportunity to close up one's affairs and embark freely. Even if such procedure has been declared constitutional, it is nevertheless dangerous that it can be inflicted with practically no judicial safeguards, 'on mere suspicion, by the single will of an executive magistrate, on persons convicted of no prison offense against the law of the land'."

### **Deporting Resident Aliens**

That "The United States is an asylum for the oppressed of all nations" was long a cherished tradition. In harmony with it our immigration doors were wide open throughout the first century of our national existence. Circumstances since then have seemed to necessitate the closing of that door, and one of the incidents of this restrictive policy has been the abolition of our asylum for the oppressed of other lands.

No alien resident is any longer secure from deportation for opinion's sake. He is not even entitled to a judicial trial. The only semblance of a trial is through the long-ago discredited "administrative process" and by clerks of administrative officials. Many a harmless alien domiciled here has in consequence been deported, many another has but barely escaped, and even native-born Americans have been jeopardized.

Through private detectives publicly employed and aided by local police, all acting under the direction of a secret service bureau in the Department of Justice, and in execution of the alien deportation law, social and political organizations were ruthlessly raided in the fall of 1919 and the early winter of 1920. Persons present were arbitrarily arrested, whether citizens or aliens. That none were even apparently guilty of crime was conceded by the immediate release of such as were citizens, merely because they were citizens. The aliens were rounded up for deportation merely because they were aliens.

Of those aliens, aggregating about 4,000, less than 1,000 were deportable by the test of the proof offered against them,

even under the drastic provisions of the deportation law; and of the few who were deportable under the law, nearly all were deportable only for violating statutory restrictions upon free speech or free assembly. In the case of an alien charged with conspiracy for the criminal use of explosive, the Federal detectives were more solicitous for his deportation than for his trial in a criminal court. In numerous cases the arrested aliens were persecuted by "third degree" methods so as to extort confessions where there was no guilt to confess. Most of the aliens actually deported had for several years led blameless and useful lives in this country. A large number had American families from which they were cruelly separated by deportation. Some were women. Some had applied for naturalization. Some had served with military credit in the American army during the World War. Many were industrious and intelligent wage-workers. Some had business interests that were jeopardized or actually ruined by the arbitrary proceedings against them. Very few had advocated violent methods of governmental change. Some were victims of provocative agents employed by the United States.

The statutory powers under which those deportations were demanded, and under which resident aliens are still persecuted, are more menacing to American principles of liberty and democracy than all the offenses charged officially against resident aliens could possibly be. From deporting resident aliens by administrative process for exercising freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, to penalizing citizens by the same arbitrary process and for exercising the same American freedoms, is no long leap. Let him who conscientiously questions the viciousness of our alien-deportation laws reflect upon the fact, and fact it is, that under those laws as they now exist Leo Tolstoy, were he still living, and domiciled in the United States, would be subject to deportation, without the benefit of a judicial trial by arbitrary administrative process, and that no Secretary of Labor could refuse to order his deportation without risking impeachment. Our laws for the deportation of resident aliens are significant of a vicious tendency away from the principles on which the American government was founded and toward those of Germany under the Kaiser and of Russia under the Czars.

LOUIS F. POST.

For particulars see "The Deportation Delirium of Nineteen-twenty. A Personal Narrative of an Historical Official Experience. By Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor for the United States from 1913 to 1921. With an Introduction by Moorfield Storey." Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, Co-operative. 1913. Also "The Deportation Cases of 1919-1920. A Study. By Constantine Panunzio, M. A. New York (105 East 22nd Street): Commission of the Church and Social Service. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." 1921.

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The case of Peter Frank is typical of the instances where American citizens were arrested without being shown warrants. He was born in Ohio and had always been a citizen. His house was broken into by immigration officers at one o'clock in the morning and his papers taken. He was arrested and kept on Deer Island for five days where his friends and counsel were not permitted to visit him. He was a member of the Shoe Workers' Union but not of any communist organization. This he stated on the paper he signed, in which his birthplace was given as Cincinnati. The Department had stencilled on the paper "I, the undersigned, not a citizen of the United States," and Frank had not noticed the word "not." He was released by Judge Anderson.

Members of the I. W. W. were brought from Oregon to Ellis Island and then released as not liable for deportation.

The Secretary of Labor ruled that all aliens who were members of the Communist Party were liable to deportation, and this was construed to apply to the Communist Labor Party also.

In the six months ending December 31, 1924, 4,448 persons were deported.

### **Goldman and Berkman**

On June 15, 1917, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested charged with "conspiracy to induce persons not to register under the Conscription Law", as shown in their magazines "Mother Earth" and "The Blast." Emma Goldman testified that she had refused to tell young men not to register as they would have to bear the brunt of that act and not she. There was no proof that anyone had been induced by her not

to register. The jury found them guilty and Judge Julius M. Mayer sentenced both defendants to two years and \$10,000 fine. Judge Mayer refused to fix bail or permit the defendants to get their things together. Later the Supreme Court released the prisoners on \$25,000 bail, but on December 14, 1917, sustained the Constitutionality of the Conscription Act and the defendants served their terms. Then they were deported.

### **U. S. S. Buford**

On December 21, 1919, two hundred and forty-nine Russians were deported on the transport Buford, being torn from their families who were left in America. As over a third of the aliens arrested during the deportation raids were later released for lack of evidence, the presumption is that some of those on the Buford were innocent. Attorney General Palmer's instructions show that an individual's character had nothing to do with his arrest. Membership in communistic organizations was deemed sufficient ground for separating a man from his family, though the law takes the position that deportation is not a criminal proceeding and involves no punishment.

### **The Haymarket Riot**

On May 3, 1886, a bloody encounter took place between the police and the locked-out employees of the McCormick Harvester Company that was resisting the demand for an eight-hour day. Several workers were killed or wounded. Some anarchists printed a circular headed, "Revenge! Revenge! Workmen to Arms," and called a meeting for May 4 at Haymarket Square to "denounce the latest atrocious act of the police." Mayor Carter Harrison attended the meeting and reported to the police that it was orderly, but the police captain sent a squad of men to the scene and ordered the remnant of the crowd to disperse. Then a bomb was thrown by an unknown person which wounded sixty policemen, seven of them fatally. Hundreds of "suspects" were arrested and eight members of the "Black International" were finally convicted on the ground that the bomb thrower must have been impelled by the advice of anarchists to use violence in the class struggle. Four of the anarchists were hanged, though never connected with the crime, one committed suicide and three were imprisoned for seven years until pardoned by Governor John P. Altgeld. Although 60,000 people had signed the petition for the pardon,



Altgeld was bitterly denounced as an anarchist himself because in his message of pardon he explained that there had been a miscarriage of justice in executing men without evidence to connect them with the crime.

See "Altgeld of Illinois" by Waldo R. Browne.

## RAIDS BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The arrest and deportation of aliens before and during the war was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Department of Labor, and had generally been administered by that department (39 Stat. at L. 889). But during the war the Department of Justice, in co-operation with the military intelligence and local "bomb squads," made wholesale raids upon aliens with the avowed purpose of later deportation.

In the fall of 1919 an *entente cordiale* was effected between the offices of Attorney General Palmer and Commissioner General Caminetti. The rule of the Department of Labor entitling aliens arrested on deportation warrants to the assistance of counsel was rescinded. Aliens were arrested and held until warrants of arrest could be obtained from Washington. There were extensive raids during October and November, 1919, two of the more serious of which are described below.

**Bridgeport Raid**—On November 8, 1919, sixty-three persons were arrested without warrants. Sixteen were released during the next day or two. With others, which brought the number up to 97, those held were transferred to the Hartford jail where they were held in practically solitary confinement without communication with the outside world for five months, when some were released on bail and others were transferred to Deer Island.

**Raid on the New York Russian People's House**—On November 7, 1919, the most violent of six raids on the Russian People's House occurred. Upon a very few warrants several hundred persons were arrested by Department of Justice officials, who destroyed most of the furniture, interrupted all classes which were being conducted and beat up with blackjacks or stair rails those on whom they could lay hands.

**January 1920 raids**—On the evening of January 2, 1920, the Department of Justice, through the good offices of its provocative agents in the Communist and Communist Labor Par-

ties, held simultaneous gatherings in the meeting places of those organizations throughout the country. Agents of the department, with local co-operation, descended upon these meeting places and arrested members and non-members, citizens and aliens, with little discrimination. The citizens were later sorted out and freed, and those whose alienage was apparently established were turned over to the Department of Labor. About 5,000 warrants were issued. About 2,758 of these were served. As to how many persons were arrested without ground or warrant and subsequently liberated after hours or days of imprisonment, no statistics are available. In hundreds of cases persons were arrested and held for about ten days until warrants were received from Washington.

Of the 2,758 cases only 556 (mostly Russian Communists) were held to be in fact subject to deportation. The remaining 2,202 warrants were cancelled.

There was some sporadic raiding later than this. 87 persons were arrested at Waterbury, Connecticut, in March, 1920, and 14 held. At Lynn, Massachusetts, on April 24, 1920, 39 bakers attending a trade meeting were mistaken for "Reds" and rounded up.

CAROL WEISS KING.

See report of the National Popular Government League to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate.

The World Tomorrow said, in December, 1919: "No speeches by Jim Larkin or any agitator gifted with the tongue of men and angels could make as many revolutionists in so short a time as are made by government officials who raid I. W. W., communist and socialist offices without search warrants, wreck the property, and beat up indiscriminately all those, young as well as old, whom they find within the four walls of the building."

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### Government's Illegal Acts

Twelve prominent lawyers published a pamphlet "Report Upon the Illegal Practices of the Department of Justice," from which extracts are here given.

"Under the guise of a campaign for the suppression of radical activities, the office of the Attorney General, acting by its local agents throughout the country, and giving express in-

structions from Washington, has committed continual illegal acts. Wholesale arrests both of aliens and citizens have been made without warrant or any process of law; men and women have been jailed and held incommunicado without access of friends or counsel; homes have been entered without search-warrant and property seized and removed; other property has been wantonly destroyed; workingmen and workingwomen suspected of radical views have been shamefully abused and maltreated. Agents of the Department of Justice have been introduced into radical organizations for the purpose of informing upon their members or inciting them to activities; these agents have even been instructed from Washington to arrange meetings upon certain dates for the express object of facilitating wholesale raids and arrests. . . . Acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute. . . . There is no danger of revolution so great as that created by suppression, by ruthlessness, and by deliberate violation of the simple rules of American law and American decency. . . . Here is no question of a vague and threatened menace, but a present assault upon the most sacred principles of our Constitutional liberty."

### **Andrea Salsedo**

On March 10, 1920, a warrant was obtained to deliver Salsedo to the Department of Labor for deportation. Instead, he and Elia were secretly taken by the Department of Justice, without the knowledge of the Department of Labor, to the 14th floor of the Park Row Building and confined for about eight weeks. Then Salsedo jumped or fell to his death. His widow brought suit against the Government, unsuccessfully, claiming that from March 1 to May 3, 1920, Salsedo's captors tortured him physically and mentally, beating and threatening him with death to make him reveal the origin of a leaflet "Plain Words" alleged to have been found amid the debris on the scene of the bomb explosion at Attorney-General Palmer's home in Washington on June 2, 1919.

### **Communists**

On December 27, 1919, instructions were issued by the Department of Justice to its agents to arrange meetings of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party for January

2, 1920, in order to arrest all members. "The grounds for deportation in these cases will be based solely upon membership" in the two parties. At that time the Secretary of Labor, upon whom the duty fell of deciding the question, had not decided that the Communist Party was unlawful, and four months later decided that the Communist Labor Party was lawful.

Judge Anderson who heard the cases said: "We shall forget everything we ever learned about American Constitutional liberty if we are to undertake to justify such a proceeding as this."

"This case seems to have been conducted under that modern theory of statesmanship that you hang first and try afterwards."

"What does appear, beyond reasonable dispute, is that the Government owns and operates some part of the Communist Party."

Information from American Civil Liberties Union.

### **Lusk Laws**

A large sum of money was appropriated by New York State for the investigation of "seditious activities" and "propaganda calculated to set in motion forces to overthrow the government of this State and the United States." The committee in charge was headed by Senator Clayton R. Lusk (later criticized for accepting a silver service) and was published in 1920 under the title of "Revolutionary Radicalism."

Under these laws, repealed in 1923, raids were made on the Rand School and on the local headquarters of the Left Wing Socialists and the I. W. W. Editors of radical papers were questioned regarding their circulation and source of income and an effort was made to link radical activities with Russian Communist propaganda.

### **The Rand School**

On June 21, 1919, representatives of the Lusk Committee, accompanied by ten members of the State Constabulary and 55 former members of the American Protective League entered the building at 7 East 15th Street, New York City, and carried away documents of the School specified in search warrants and papers of other organizations not mentioned in the warrants. Two days later some of the raiders drilled open the safe containing papers of the Society of the Commonwealth Center, Inc., which owns the People's House. Action to annul the

charter of the American Socialist Society, which conducts the school, was begun by the Attorney-General of the State, October 24, 1921. Attacks upon the school continued for over a year until the Lusk laws were repealed in 1923. These laws authorized State officials to determine the kind of schools which might exist in New York State.

### **Socialists at Albany**

In 1919 five Socialists were elected to the Assembly of New York State and were sworn in on January 7, 1920. On the charge of Speaker Thaddeus C. Sweet that they were pledged to an alliance with the Soviet Government of Russia, the Assembly voted 140 to 6 to suspend them. Protests were made by the N. Y. Bar Association, Charles Evans Hughes, Theodore Roosevelt and other prominent people. A long trial ensued, resulting in the expulsion of all five Socialists. On September 16 a special election was called by Governor Smith to fill the vacancies, and all five of the men were re-elected. The Assembly again expelled Solomon, Waldman and Claessens but seated Orr and DeWitt. The last two resigned. The New York Sun said of the ousting: "The Assembly has earned the gratitude of all loyal Americans."

See American Labor Year Book for 1922.

### **Conscription and Espionage Laws**

The Conscription and Espionage laws were natural twins of the illegitimate conditions of war and hysteria.

The first casualty of war in the United States was Liberty, despite Article I and Article XIII of the Amendments to the Constitution guaranteeing free speech and free press and against involuntary servitude. The Courts held the Conscription and Espionage laws constitutional (*Arver vs. U. S.* 245, *U. S.* 366 and *Goldman vs. U. S.* at 474; *Schenck vs. U. S.* 249, *U. S.* 47) but that does not prove their correctness or finality any more than the *Dred Scott* case before the Civil War settled the question of slavery.

Men were often compelled, in violation of the Constitution, to give testimony against themselves as to whether they registered for the draft; mail of certain individuals and societies was stopped; meetings were broken up; speakers haled into Court on all kinds of charges, the usual ones being "blocking traffic" or "disorderly conduct"; hallkeepers were intimidated;



newspapers and magazines were censored and literature confiscated, all being justified under the claim of the necessity of war. In one case a boy was sentenced to ninety days in jail for distributing the Declaration of Independence on the fourth of July because at the end of it was printed "Does our Government live up to these principles?" Opposition to war or any policy of the government was greeted by shouts of treason from those who forget that Chief Justice Marshall in the Aaron Burr trial defined treason as: "the act of levying war" and that opinions can never be such. The Espionage Law was practically the old Alien and Sedition Law that was killed by an aroused public opinion in the early days of our country.

Propaganda for governmental purposes, or for powerful war groups, regimented the thought of America, while propaganda for peace, or for taxation instead of bonds to pay the cost of war, or against profiteers, or even strikes for better wages (a drop from the ocean of war profits) were all stopped by the force of the government, or by self-constituted guardians of our Government and Constitution. Even the denunciation of the policy of making war on Russia, an ally, and invading that country, all without a declaration of war by Congress, earned the hotheads sentences of fifteen and twenty years under the Espionage Law, and was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, though the two ablest judges on that bench (Judges Holmes and Brandeis) in a dissenting opinion said the defendants "had as much right to publish as the government has to publish the Constitution of the United States." (See *Abrams vs. U. S.* 250, United States Supreme Court 616).

In *Frohwerk vs. U. S.* (249 U. S. 207, 208), Justice Holmes well said: "We do not lose our right to condemn either measures or men because the country is at war." (See also in re *Mulligan*, 71 U. S. 2.) Yet in the *Debs* case (249 U. S. 211) the United States Supreme Court upheld the Espionage Law on the ground that the intention and probable effects of *Debs'* words were to obstruct the recruiting service.

The Conscription Law was unconstitutional as violating Amendment XIII, which provides against slavery and involuntary servitude and was therefore beyond the power of the Federal governments to enact. By the Conscription Law men were ordered into military camps to serve at home or abroad, and according to a proclamation of the President were liable to be

assigned to duty at manual labor in mines, factories and fields. A volunteer soldier is a free man offering to fight for what he believes—but conscription is slavery, if the English language means anything.

The conscription or draft act gave religious exemption to certain religious sects, ministers, theological students, etc., violating Article I of the Amendments of the Constitution prohibiting the establishment of religion. Story on the Constitution, Sec. 454, states that the Constitution “prohibits any law which shall recognize, found, confirm or patronize any religion or form of religion.” Cooley in “Constitutional Limitations,” P. 659, said that the Constitution sought, “to guard against the slightest approach toward the establishment of an inequality in the civil and political rights of citizens which shall have for its basis only their difference of religious belief.” If you were a Quaker or a minister and had a conscience against war you were exempt, but if you only had a conscience against war you were not. And the “Right of Clergy” that was left behind in England, came back to America in a new guise.

The Constitution and the practice in the past provided for a State militia which could be called forth to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections and repel invasion (see Article I of the Constitution, Sec. 8, Subdivision 15) and the power given Congress was of a limited nature (See *Houston vs. Moore*, 5 Wheat, 1 at 48). All the writings during the adoption of the Constitution show that the idea was to keep the Federal Army and the State militia separate, except in certain eventualities, and the officers of the militia were to be chosen not by the Federal Government. (See John Marshall 3 Elliot’s Debates 419 and Randolph of Virginia at P. 400.) The Conscription Act practically did away with the State militia, for under it the state officials were placed under the military commands of the President.

During the War of 1812, the proposal to conscript soldiers by James Monroe, Secretary of War, was denounced by great lawyers and statesmen like Daniel Webster, Jeremiah Mason, Chief Justice Daggett of Conn., then in the United States Senate, and others, and was defeated as unconstitutional. In the War of 1812 it is well known that state militia refused to cross into Canada because they denied the right of the Government to take them out of their own country against their will.

Has man any inalienable rights of liberty and conscience, of speech and press, of meeting and religion—or does war destroy all? Was man made for the state, or the state for man? Eternal questions in varying forms. Their apparent hopelessness of final solution is no determinant of whether the fight should be continued.

HARRY WEINBERGER, of the N. Y. Bar

### **Espionage Act**

The Act of 1917 provided punishment for false statements interfering with military or naval operations, causing insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in military and naval forces and obstruction of recruiting and enlistments.

The Act of 1918 added nine offenses including hindering the sale of bonds, uttering abusive language intended to cause contempt of the government, Constitution, flag or uniform, or that would curtail production of war materials; or advocating any of these acts.

The Espionage Acts were suspended March 3, 1921, and are inoperative in peace time, but automatically become operative on declaration of war. They have not been repealed.

### **Conscription Acts**

The Selective Draft Law passed in 1917 provided for the registration for military service of all males between 21 and 31, whether citizens or men intending to become citizens. Certain officials, ministers of religion, theological students in recognized seminaries, and members of religious sects whose creeds are opposed to war were exempted from military service.

Addressing the House of Representatives, September 5, 1916, George Huddleston said: "I want to call attention of the House and of the country to that section of the national-defense act approved June 3, 1916, which abandons the volunteer principle upon which American defense has always proudly rested, and provides for the hateful continental system of 'conscription', the last refuge of Old World tyranny, the stronghold of militarism itself. . . . When the Hay bill, so-called, providing for the reorganization of the Army, was reported out of the House by the Military Affairs Committee, it contained no provisions whatever for compulsory military service. . . . But on March 22, the chairman of the Military Affairs Committee introduced a committee amendment providing for 'reserve bat-

talions for recruit training' . . . You can comb this House from end to end without finding a member, save the gentleman from Virginia and the gentleman from Arizona, who was aware at the time that the amendment embodied a 'conscription' clause. . . . The bill with its preposterous and impudent 'draft' clause hidden in section 79 was adopted by both Houses and sent to the President for his signature. I have heard it stated that the President signed the bill entirely unaware of the significance, if not of the very existence, of this clause. I am inclined to believe that this is so. I believe that he was imposed upon, as the rest of us were.

"Sometimes I think that they must realize that their wars are going to be wars of conquest, of markets, of greed and of lust, and that they believe that without compulsory military service they can never drive the American people into those wars."

### Roger N. Baldwin

On October 30, 1918, Roger N. Baldwin was given the maximum sentence of a year in the penitentiary for violations of the Selective Service Act. He had registered, but had refused to take the physical examination and had voluntarily given himself up to the U. S. Attorney.

In his statement to the court, published in a pamphlet, "The Individual and the State," he said: "The compelling motive for refusing to comply with the draft act is my uncompromising opposition to the principle of conscription of life by the State for any purpose whatever, in time of war or peace. . . . I am the more opposed to the present act, because it is for the purpose of conducting war. I am opposed to this and all other wars. I do not believe in the use of physical force as a method of achieving any end, however good. . . . I am prepared for court martial and sentence to military prison, to follow the 200 to 300 objectors already sentenced to terms of 10 to 30 years for their loyalty to their ideals."

On April 9, 1925, Baldwin was sentenced to six months in jail on a charge of "unlawful assembly" brought under a statute of 1798 never before invoked in New Jersey. The conviction was the result of an attempt by the American Civil Liberties Union, of which he was director, to hold a meeting of silk strikers on the steps of the Paterson City Hall in October, 1924,

after the police had refused permission to conduct the meeting in a private hall that had been engaged for the purpose.

The case was appealed.

### **Sermon on the Mount**

Late in 1917, Dr. Willard A. Paul, a member of the Association to Abolish War, proposed to print the Sermon on the Mount, without note or comment, for free distribution. The Secretary of the Association, Wilbur K. Thomas, was officially informed that such a procedure would be regarded by the Department of Justice as "pro-German."

### **Dunn, Hiller and Yanyar**

These socialists were conscientious objectors who voluntarily surrendered themselves to the U. S. Attorney at Providence, R. I., and were convicted of violation of the selective service act. While on bail, pending an appeal, they were kidnapped by military authorities, brought before Court Martial and given heavy sentences.

From Methodist Social Service Bulletin, March, 1921.

**Brent Dow Allinson**—see page 324.

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Professor Chafee, of the Harvard Law School, said: "Almost all the convictions have been for expression of opinion about the merits and conduct of the war. It became criminal to advocate heavier taxation instead of bond issues, to state that conscription was unconstitutional though the Supreme Court had not yet held it valid; to say that the sinking of merchant vessels was legal; to urge that a referendum should have preceded our declaration of war; to say that war was contrary to the teachings of Christ. Men have been punished for criticizing the Red Cross and Y. M. C. A.; while under the Minnesota Espionage Act it has been held a crime to discourage women from knitting by the remark, 'No soldier ever sees these socks.' It was in no way necessary that these expressions of opinion should be addressed to soldiers or men on the point of enlisting or being drafted. Most judges held it enough if the words might conceivably reach such men."

See "Freedom of Speech" by Zechariah Chafee.

### **I. W. W.**

The American Civil Liberties Union said: "The offices of the I. W. W. have been repeatedly raided, many times without



even the pretense of a warrant; mail of all sorts has been arbitrarily held up for months by the post office; express companies have been prohibited by the Department of Justice from taking shipments to or for the I. W. W., and federal secret service men have continuously hounded the organization in its work of conducting its legal defense. All attempts to get into the public press a fair statement of the vital industrial issues involved have been met with a torrent of abuse and misrepresentation."

### **Political Prisoners**

First known in this country after the passage of the Espionage Act, before which our criminal law inflicted punishment almost exclusively for acts proved by our five senses. Under the Espionage Act men were punished for the expression of opinion, for words which inflicted no injury but were supposed to harm the State, for intentions rather than for overt acts.

Political prisoners were kept in prison in the United States long after other countries had released their similar offenders. Imperial Germany gave Liebnecht four years for revolutionary propaganda among soldiers. Bertrand Russell was given six months for making the same sort of remarks for which Americans were given ten years. Our Government released Von Rintelen, who was convicted of conspiracy to blow up food and munition ships of the Allies by planting "fire-bombs" in their cargoes, before it released our own citizens who had merely expressed opinions unfavorable to the war.

Dr. John A. Ryan summed up the offenses: "They could all be reduced to assertions that the war was a capitalist war; that the working classes were fools to engage in it; and that the way to prevent war is through a general strike. For these utterances the majority of the political prisoners were sentenced to terms of from 10 to 20 years."

### **Amnesty**

On December 25, 1921, President Harding released 25 political prisoners, including Debs, and in June, 1922, 12 more. On July 19 he promised to review the remaining 106 cases within sixty days, but it was not until December, 1923, that the campaign for amnesty was successful in obtaining a pardon from President Coolidge for all the federal prisoners. At that time

there were still 116 state prisoners in jail and more have been committed since. On February 4, 1925, the American Civil Liberties Union reported that the prisoners still held under criminal syndicalism laws were 89 in California, 5 in Washington, 2 in Oklahoma and 1 in Kansas.

Strictly speaking, these pardons were merely commutations of sentences, not restoring full citizenship.

### PROMINENT TRIALS

From the hundreds of cases prosecuted under the Espionage Act, some of the most prominent have been selected as examples of governmental action that aroused discontent rather than confidence in American traditions.

#### Scott Nearing and the Rand School

In 1917, Scott Nearing wrote "The Great Madness" to show that the war was due to economic causes and was deliberately used by interested classes as a buffer against social justice. The book was published by the Rand School. Nearing and the School were indicted for conspiracy to obstruct recruiting and enlistment. At the trial Nearing, who had written the book, was acquitted. The School, which had merely acted as publisher and distributor, and which had nothing to do with the subject matter, was convicted and fined \$3,000. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States; the lower court was sustained and the school paid its fine.

(See a stenographic report of the trial published by the Rand School.)

#### Kate Richards O'Hare

Mrs. O'Hare delivered an address at Bowman, N. D., on July 17, 1917, identical in substance, with those which she had given many times before. She was arrested, charged with having likened American mothers of drafted sons to "brood sows," and having stated that the young men who were drafted were "only fit for fertilizer." Of the audience of 135 persons only two could be found to swear that this language had been used, but the judge permitted three persons who were not at the meeting to testify against Mrs. O'Hare. Her twelve witnesses were all at the meeting but the judge refused to permit four of them to testify. In imposing a five year sentence at hard labor, Judge Wade quoted a letter from the Department of

Justice: "We have been unable to obtain anything specific on her that would be a violation of the federal law. . . . Nothing would please this office more than to hear that she got life."

She was pardoned by President Wilson after serving 14 months, being released on a commutation secured by the Church Federation of Chicago who presented to the Department of Justice unquestionable proof of her innocence of the charge.

The Attorney General reported that "Aside from her distorted and erroneous views on socialistic subjects, she was undoubtedly a sincere, earnest and worthy woman. . . . Further imprisonment would accomplish no good."

### **William D. Haywood and the I. W. W.**

On September 5, 1917, marshals of the U. S. Department of Justice raided the offices of the I. W. W. in over fifty cities, and seized "several thousand pounds" of correspondence, pamphlets, account books and other papers, arresting 166 members and sympathizers. The indictment contained five counts charging conspiracy to obstruct the war between April 6, 1917, and September 28, 1917. The trial of 113 of the men began in April, 1918, some six months after the arrests of the defendants, before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, in Chicago. The fifth count was stricken from the indictment and most of the evidence produced to support the other four counts was derived from the papers illegally seized. On August 17, the case went to the jury who deliberated only 25 minutes before bringing in a verdict of "guilty." Judge Landis imposed sentences of from one to twenty years on 93 of the defendants with fines aggregating \$2,570,000 and costs. Bail was set at \$25,000 each, pending appeal, and Haywood and some others were in jail nearly a year before their bail was accepted. In December, 1920, the Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the judgment of the trial court but struck out the imprisonments and fines under counts one and two. In April, 1921, the U. S. Supreme Court denied a writ of certiorari so the case could not be reopened. Haywood skipped his bail and went to Russia. The cost of the trial to the defendants was \$108,715.

The appellate court stressed the point that the "Defendants were indicted as individuals, not as members of the I. W. W. That organization is not on trial." Yet the great mass of evidence presented against all the defendants, including the eleven

men who never had belonged to the organization, dealt with the I. W. W. philosophy in a general way and not with the acts or opinions of the individuals, and it included activities prior to April 6, 1917, after which the conspiracy was supposed to have begun. No evidence was produced to show that anyone was prevented from enlisting. Eighteen of the nineteen defendants who were liable for service under the draft act had actually registered, but were charged with conspiracy to prevent others from registering. Both the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor have taken the position that the I. W. W. is not a revolutionary organization in the sense of advocating unlawful destruction of property.

The General Defense Committee reports that one of the men sentenced for five years was Clyde Hough, who, when registration day came, gave himself up at Rockford, Ill., and was sentenced for a year and a day in Bridewell. He was in jail when the Espionage Act was passed, in jail when the alleged conspiracy of the I. W. W. took place, but was taken to Chicago and convicted of conspiring against the United States. Twenty-two people were indicted who had had no connection with the I. W. W. for from one to five years. Frank Little, who had been lynched the summer before was among those indicted for conspiracy. The prosecutors had not taken the trouble to find out that he was dead.

One New York newspaper printed the following admissions made at the trial: "Chief Prosecutor Frank K. Nebeker told Judge Landis that the prosecution will not dispute these vital points, several of which the defense had intended to go into in even greater detail than heretofore.

1. The prosecution admits the evil social and economic conditions that prevailed in the lumber camps of the Northwest prior to the I. W. W. strike last summer.

2. The prosecution admits there are several hundred lumber mills in the Northwest, and that they showed only two evidences of sabotage in two mills, one in Washington and one in Idaho.

3. The prosecution admits that I. W. W. members fought fires on government preserves.

4. The prosecution admits evil mining conditions in Butte which caused the spectacular fire costing the lives of 178 miners.

5. The prosecution admits the deportation of striking copper miners from their homes in Arizona.

6. The prosecution admits farmers of the Dakotas, organized in the Non-Partisan League, were pleased with the labor of the I. W. W. harvesters."

The prisoners were gradually pardoned, after five years or more of imprisonment, some conditionally and others who refused to accept conditional commutation, absolutely, after serving a further term.

Alexander Sidney Lanier, Captain of the Military Intelligence Division, made a summary of the evidence and wrote to President Wilson in 1919 an open letter from which an extract is here given: "There can be no question, in my opinion, of the absolute innocence and wrongful conviction of Charles Ashleigh, Leo Laukie and Vincent St. John (Names included over protests of men concerned . . . disclaim any greater degree of innocence than they believe adheres to all the defendants). I defy anyone to show one scintilla of evidence in the record of this trial that proves that either of the above defendants conspired with anyone to violate any law, or that they did, in fact, violate any law."

See "I. W. W.; a Study of American Syndicalism," by Prof. Paul F. Brissenden, and his pamphlet, "Justice and the I. W. W." published by the General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago.

### Charles Krieger

On December 28, 1917, Charles Krieger, an I. W. W. organizer, was charged with complicity in the dynamiting of a house in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The U. S. Marshal admitted that he knew no reason for the arrest except membership in the I. W. W. After seven months in jail, Krieger was indicted on a charge of obstructing recruiting. After some months more a judge released him, saying: "I don't think it will be seriously contended in this case that there was any competent evidence to connect this defendant with the crime." Within 24 hours Krieger was re-arrested and was kept in jail until October, 1919—almost two years without trial. Then the jury disagreed. When tried again in 1920 the testimony was repeated showing that he had been far from the scene of the dynamiting. This



time he was acquitted, but his two years were lost and his defense cost the I.W. W. \$12,000.

### **Chicago Socialists**

On September 5, 1917, the Federal authorities raided the offices of the Socialist Party and carried away lists, etc. On February 2, 1918, indictments were returned against Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker, who were released on \$10,000 bail each.

The trial began December 9, 1918, after the armistice, before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis. The prosecution charged obstruction of the war by distributing pamphlets of the Socialist Party. The defendants admitted being opposed to all wars, and stated that they had relied on the "free speech, free press and free assemblage" provisions of the Constitution. On January 8, 1919, the jury rendered a verdict of "guilty." Sentence of 20 years was imposed on each, but they were released on a total bail of \$500,000 pending appeal. On January 31, 1921, the Supreme Court of the U. S. reversed the convictions. No reparation was made.

See U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, No. 2710, 7th Circuit.

### **Victor L. Berger**

While under indictment for violation of the Espionage Act, Berger was elected to Congress in November, 1918, but was not permitted to take his seat when he presented himself in April, 1919. Until November, however, he was allowed use of a room in the House Office Building and received his pay and franking privilege. Governor Philipp of Wisconsin called a special election and a campaign was made against Berger. He was re-elected, but on January 4, 1920, he was again expelled from the House. In November, 1920, he was defeated, but was again elected in 1922 and started service in the House of Representatives in December, 1923, and is a member of the 69th Congress.

### **Milwaukee Leader**

Threats of persecution were made against the Milwaukee Leader soon after the declaration of war in April, 1917, because of its vigorous editorial stand against the war, and on account

of its reprinting the St. Louis Anti-War Manifesto and other anti-war matter.

On October 3, 1917, the Leader's second class mailing rights were withdrawn by the Post Office Department. At about the same time secret service men ransacked the office and took away the files of the paper, which the government never returned. While the Leader's circulation was mainly a house to house circulation delivered by carrier in Milwaukee and vicinity, it had 17,500 mail subscribers in the state and country at large. The withdrawal of the second class mailing right cut off this entire list of mail subscribers except those who were willing to pay the higher rate, and even these were prevented from renewing by the fact that their copies were delivered to them with extreme irregularity.

When the Leader tried to send bundles by express to cities and towns where there were readers, the express companies refused to carry them.

The loss of the second class mail right was made the excuse of some of the heaviest advertisers to withdraw their advertising. Their withdrawal was also urged and hastened by the threats of war fans.

The financial loss to the paper was severe—so severe that for a time it contemplated suspension or changing to a weekly. But the loyal family of readers in Milwaukee city and county came to the rescue and it survived.

Probably the despots expected the above mentioned blows to kill the paper. Having been disappointed in this hope, they dealt it another stunning blow in August, 1918, by issuing an order which prevented it from receiving any incoming mail. Thereafter neither subscribers, advertisers nor anyone else could reach the paper by letter, for their letters were returned to them stamped "Undeliverable under the Espionage Act."

A little later the paper itself and two of its editors were indicted by the federal grand jury in Milwaukee. The editor in chief, Victor L. Berger, was one of the two, and he had already been indicted—in March, 1918—by the federal grand jury in Chicago, along with Germer, Engdahl, Kruse, and Tucker. A few years later the Milwaukee indictments were dismissed without having come to trial.

The Leader brought suit to regain its mailing rights, carried the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and lost.

In June, 1921—two and a half years after the close of the war, and three months after the close of the Wilson administration—the Leader's outgoing and incoming mail rights were restored by the Post Office Department.

MARX LEWIS

### **The American Socialist**

The American Socialist had by June, 1917, developed to a regular circulation of 100,000—80,000 of these being subscribers. The issues of June 16, 23 and 30, the last being our famous Liberty Edition, were declared unmailable by the Post Office censor at Washington. From July 7 to August 11, inclusive, the American Socialist was issued under a local censorship in Chicago. We were then notified that our second class mailing privilege had been revoked because the June issues had been declared unmailable. Even tho these three issues had all been mailed to our subscribers the Post Office nevertheless held that the continuity of the publication had been interrupted and we were therefore, no longer entitled to our mailing privilege.

Application was duly and immediately made for another second class mailing privilege. Four weeks passed and no decision reached us from Washington. Counsel was sent to Washington and given an audience with President Wilson. It is important to note that President Wilson told our counsel that he, President Wilson, was opposed to the suppression of Socialist publications; and that the Department of Justice had already declared that not one article appeared on which indictment could be based.

As rudely as the Cossacks of the late Czar of Russia ever crushed a labor paper in the darkest Russia, in the nineteenth century, twenty American Cossacks, "operatives" from the Federal Building in Chicago, reinforced by deputy marshals and local police, pounced upon the National Office of the Socialist Party and in true, old-time Russian fashion demanded everything in sight from typewriters to mailing lists. It immediately became apparent to the federal district attorney that we were hiding nothing, that all business of the National Office and the American Socialist was being done openly and above board. The federal officers satisfied themselves by taking a file of the American Socialist, copies of all leaflets, pamphlets and books and in addition some letters from the files and books showing our financial transactions.

Week after week, appeals were made to justice, reason and decency but accomplished nothing. The censors would not examine even one line of copy in advance of the printing—scorned to look over the paper in galley form, flatly refused to agree to have one copy printed for examination before the printer should proceed with the edition. It would have been perfectly reasonable for the censor to point out in the galleys or in the first copy what was objectionable, but the censor would do nothing till the complete editions were mailed. This, of course, was intended to create intolerable delays and unbearable expense.

The last issue, Saturday, September 8th, went to press Saturday, September 1st. In our effort to keep the paper alive pending the decision of the Post Office Department a few thousand were sent out to larger cities by express for distribution by local carriers. This, of course, could not be continued on account of expense.

We, therefore, planned September 5th to have the "Eye Opener" serve the subscribers of the American Socialist, but just two days later we were informed by the Post Office Department that the "Eye Opener" could not be sent to subscribers of the "American Socialist" while the latter remained in existence. Thus the finishing blow to the American Socialist was administered September 7th.

BERTHA HALE WHITE.

*Executive Secretary.*

### **The Masses**

In 1917, *The Masses*, a radical magazine published in New York, was deprived of the use of the mails for the publication of editorials, articles, poems and cartoons, which were held by Postmaster Burleson to conflict with the espionage act. On April 15, 1918, Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, and Arthur Young, editors, and Merrill Rogers, business manager, were put on trial for alleged violations of the act. The trial lasted 13 days. In his charge to the jury, Judge Augustus N. Hand said:

"It is the constitutional right of every citizen to express his opinion about the war or the participation of the United States in it; about the desirability of peace; about the merits or demerits of the system of conscription; and about the moral rights or claims of conscientious objectors to be exempt from

conscription. It is the constitutional right of the citizen to express such opinions, even though they are opposed to the opinions or policies of the administration; and even though the expression of such opinions may unintentionally or indirectly discourage recruiting or enlistment." The jury failed to reach an agreement. A second trial was begun on September 30, before Judge Martin B. Manton, the defendants being joined by John Reed, who had recently returned from Russia. On October 4, the jury again disagreed. The indictments were dismissed early in 1919.

SOLON DE LEON.

### **Eugene V. Debs**

Debs, four times presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, was arrested for a speech made at Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918. He had denounced imperialistic treaties and explained the economic causes of war. The trial began on September 9, in Cleveland. The average age of the 100 venire men was said to be 70—retired farmers and merchants. Debs defended himself. The jury convicted on the ground that the nature and intended effect of Debs' speech was to obstruct recruiting and enlistment in the army. The sentence was 10 years in the State penitentiary of West Virginia. On June 10 he was removed to Atlanta, Georgia. While in prison he was nominated for President of the United States and received 919,799 votes. In February, 1921, the Department of Justice recommended a pardon, but President Wilson inscribed on the paper "Denied." On December 25, 1921, President Harding granted a pardon.

The New York Times commented: The release of Debs "is notice to all persons that the United States will not seriously punish the most perilous assailants of its safety and life." The New York Herald said: "Surely the sentence imposed upon Debs was not too severe. . . . Life imprisonment would not be an unfitting penalty for such an offense."

See "Eugene V. Debs' Canton Speech," 10 cents, from Socialist Party.

### **Rev. Clarence H. Waldron**

Judge Howe sentenced Mr. Waldron to 15 years' imprisonment for distributing a pamphlet in which the following sentences appeared: "Better a thousand times to die than for a



Christian to kill his fellow. . . . I do not say that it is wrong for a nation to go to war to preserve its interests, but it is wrong to the Christian, absolutely, unutterably wrong."

He was released after serving one year.

Other pacifist ministers were sentenced, including Rev. W. M. Hicks, who was given 20 years, and Robert Whitaker.

### **Magon and Rivera**

On March 21, 1918, Ricardo Flores Magon and Librado Rivera were arrested for violation of the Espionage Act by publishing in a paper, "Regeneracion," in the Spanish language, a manifesto that a few people thought might obstruct recruiting among Mexicans living in the United States. Magon was sentenced to 20 years and Rivera to 15 years. When Magon became ill in prison an appeal was made to Attorney General Daugherty, but he and the President refused to pardon and Magon died after serving nearly five years. He was a Mexican who had endeavored to free the peons in his own country and came to the United States in the hope of having freedom to write the facts about industrial issues. The Mexican Chamber of Deputies was reported as being draped in black in his honor.

The New York World commented: "It was Harry Daugherty who procured the pardon for Charles W. Morse on the ground that Mr. Morse was dying. That was many years ago, and Mr. Morse, though much older than Magon, is not yet dead. Indeed, Mr. Daugherty is trying at this moment to send him to jail on another charge. . . . Is the moral simply that it is better to break the banking laws whenever there is a profit in doing so than to fool with free speech in this land of the free."

See speech of Hon. George Huddleston in the House of Representatives, Dec. 11 and 14, 1922.

### **Steimer-Abrams**

In August, 1918, Mollie Steimer, a 21 year old girl, and four men were arrested for distributing a leaflet denouncing the despatch of American troops to Russia. This was seven months after President Wilson had declared that Soviet Russia must have "an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development." One of the men died in prison. The others were defended by Harry Weinberger who called Raymond Robins to testify, but

the Judge excluded evidence about conditions in Russia, saying, "the flowers that bloom in the spring, tra la, have nothing to do with the case." The jury found four of the defendants guilty on four counts and the Judge sentenced the men to 20 years imprisonment and \$1,000 fine on each count, and Mollie Steimer to 15 years and a \$500 fine. The U. S. Supreme Court sustained these convictions by a 7 to 2 vote. After serving part of their term the prisoners were pardoned by the President.

For detailed account of this case see "Freedom of Speech", by Zechariah Chafee.

### **Rose Pastor Stokes**

In June, 1918, Mrs. Stokes was sentenced to 10 years in prison for writing a letter to the Kansas City Star in which she said: "I am for the people while the Government is for the profiteers." Although indicted only for the letter, Judge Van Valkenburgh admitted in evidence her speeches and denounced them to the jury, as well as the Russian Revolution with which Mrs. Stokes was in sympathy. The Circuit Court of Appeals set aside the conviction in March, 1920.

### **International Bible Students**

Pastor Russell published six volumes of Studies in the Scriptures, and his seventh volume, "The Finished Mystery" was published after his death. The following account of this book and its consequences is taken from "The Golden Age" of September 29, 1920, the organ of the Russellites.

"It is an interpretation of Ezekiel and Revelation. These prophetic books of the Bible contrast the course of the true with the nominal church. In prophetic phrase the Lord foretold the persecution of the true by the false, and the great hypocrisy of the Clergy. Necessarily 'The Finished Mystery' explained these Scriptures in the light of the historical facts—recording fulfilled prophecy. This greatly angered the clergy, because it interfered with their scheme to further defraud the people, and they sought an opportunity for vengeance. . . . Early in 1918 a convention of clergymen was held at Philadelphia, at which a resolution was adopted calling upon Congress to provide that alleged violators of the Espionage Law should be tried by court martial and death inflicted as a penalty. . . . Whether or not it is right for a nation to engage in war need not be here considered. The sole question is, What is the

proper position for the church to take. . . . If worldly nations want to fight, that is their business. The followers of Jesus to be faithful must obey his expressed will and refrain from shedding blood.

"Public sentiment must be worked up against the 'offensive Bible students.' The clergy started the ball. Another member of the unholy alliance, big business, dominates the public press. Unscrupulous politicians holding office are ready tools. First the books of account of the Bible students were seized, on a pretext that money was being obtained from the enemy, Germany. For five weeks experts searched them and found not one penny coming from a questionable source. . . . In the search by the secret service agents it (a small receiving wireless set) was found packed away in the basement, hauled out and then a deliberate lie was sent by the Associated Press throughout the world, announcing that the Russellites were maintaining a powerful wireless upon the roof by which they could send messages across the ocean to the Germans—all of which was necessary to work up public sentiment. Then followed the indictment of the officers of the Association and their trial amidst a great excitement of the war. Being thus staged, a verdict of guilty was easily obtained. Sentence followed in which seven of these Bible students were sentenced each for eighty years' imprisonment. Bail was denied and they were immediately incarcerated and remained in prison for nine months, without the privilege of bail, pending appeal. Later they were released and upon a hearing of the case in the Appellate Court that court reversed the judgment of the lower court, holding that the defendants had not been given a fair trial. On May 5, 1920, the indictments were dismissed by the Government and the defendants discharged. The defendants were thereby exonerated after suffering nine months illegal imprisonment; but the subsidized press industriously avoided publishing any facts about that part of it. . . . Upwards of 600 clergymen signed a petition, asking the Government to suppress the publications of the International Bible Students Association, many of which had been in existence and used by Bible Students for more than thirty years. (A list is given of outrages committed on the Students at the instigation of ministers of various denominations, giving names and dates.) Officers of the law, in league with an apostate clergy, deliberately

conspired for the conviction and imprisonment of these innocent Bible students. It is inconceivable how their acts could have interfered with the selective draft, and still harder to believe that a year and a half after all other nations have discharged even their political prisoners these Christians should be quietly taken off to serve terms in the penitentiary." This refers to Mrs. Emma Martin and three men whose prison terms started May 17, 1920, for "selling a religious book to sleuths of the law" who had attended a meeting in 1918.

### **Sacco-Vanzetti Case**

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were found guilty of murdering a paymaster and his guard on July 14, 1921, and on October 1, 1924, motions for a new trial were denied by the trial judge, Hon. Webster Thayer. The deed had been done on April 15, 1920, on the streets in South Braintree, Mass., at 5 P. M., and in the presence of numerous eye witnesses, and the identifications of a few of them were relied upon in lodging the offense.

A payroll of over \$15,000 was captured by the murderers. No trace of the money was found upon the accused nor among their friends. At the time of their arrest they were in a trolley car in the neighborhood of the crime, attempting to raise money to help two Italian comrades who were imprisoned without legal authority in New York City.

Upon their arrest, Vanzetti was at first accused as principal in an attempted hold-up which had occurred a few months earlier, and was found guilty in the face of an almost complete lack of evidence. Vanzetti's conviction told heavily against both him and Sacco when they were put on trial together for the South Braintree murders.

The Italian world and others who have followed the case are much aroused. They point out that both of the men are Anarchists in their philosophy, and that at the time of the trial, feeling ran high against aliens and so-called "reds." The case will be appealed to the Supreme Court—provided the money can be raised, which, however, will not be easy after the heavy expense of the already prolonged legal proceedings.

Both Sacco and Vanzetti are urgent that they be set free, or sent to the electric chair. They are each of them men of a

rare personality. Whatever the outcome, the trial is bound to live in history. Friends call it the Dreyfus Case of the United States.

#### SACCO VANZETTI DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

#### Sacramento Silent Defense

After the bombing of the mansion of Governor Stephens of California in 1919, 56 members of the I. W. W. were arrested for violation of the Federal Espionage law and confined for 64 days and nights in a Sacramento jail cell 21 by 21 feet. An eye-witness of the horror has described it: "All of them could not lie down at once. It was winter. One cotton blanket was given each. Their food was about two ounces of mush in the morning, less than two ounces of bread, and at night three fetid little smelts and less than two ounces of potatoes, with 'coffee' twice a day. . . . By relays they slept at night." \$200 advanced by the defense committee has not been returned by the State as promised. The offices of the defense fund were raided six times, on each occasion the secretaries being arrested and added to the defendants. At the trial 43 defendants refused to answer questions and put in no defense. They were in jail 15 months before their conviction. The doctor asked the release of one dying of consumption but in vain. Five of the men died while awaiting trial. Sentences ranged from one to ten years.

Information from General Defense Committee.

#### Carlo Tresca

"At a dinner of welcome in July, 1923, to Judge Gary, who is an honorary member of the Fascisti, the Italian Ambassador suggested that a 'certain Italian paper in New York ought to be suppressed.' The Government's attentions to 'Il Martello' began immediately thereafter. The July 21st issue of the paper was held up in the mails without warning and without specific charges. On August 10th Tresca was arrested for an article, then three months old, criticizing the Italian monarchy. The charge was later dropped. On August 18th, he was ordered to delete from his paper the announcement of a raffle, although two other papers carried the same notice unmolested. The September 8th issue of 'Il Martello' was held up for containing a two-line advertisement of a birth control book. Although the advertisement was deleted and the paper allowed to pass



through the mails, Tresca was indicted for this a month later. On October 27th Tresca was forced to reprint an entire edition of the paper, omitting an account of how the Fascisti forced a woman to take castor oil. The November 10th issue was held up because of a letter from a reader prophesying that Mussolini would come to the same end as Rienzi, although an earlier issue of 'Il Martello' had quoted the same statement by Arthur Brisbane which appeared in the Hearst papers. The November 24th issue was declared unavailable for charging that Mussolini appropriated for his election fund a sum intended for D'Annunzio in Fiume." American Civil Liberties Bureau.

Tresca was tried for the two-line birth control advertisement before Judge Henry W. Goddard of the U. S. District Court at New York, and was convicted on November 27, 1923. The conviction was affirmed by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, and on January 5, 1925, Tresca began serving his sentence of a year and a day at Atlanta.

President Coolidge soon commuted his sentence to expire May 6, 1925.

### **Criminal Syndicalism**

Any doctrine or precept advocating the commission of crime, sabotage, or unlawful acts of force or violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism, as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change.

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The California Criminal Syndicalism Act was passed in 1919. After some Communist Labor Party cases the weight of the prosecution has rested on the I. W. W. Hundreds of men have been tried and sentenced to one to 14 years each. Lumber, oil and shipping interests have used the law to break strikes, etc. At this writing there are 80 men in San Quentin and 11 in Folsom (a recidivists' prison). One man is going blind as a result of prison hardships, another hanged himself in his cell, two have contracted tuberculosis. Several protest strikes against overworking criminal syndicalism prisoners in the San Quentin jute mill have sent the strikers to the dungeons for as much as forty days at a time. To aid the criminal syndicalism law, Judge Busick, of Sacramento, issued an anti-I. W. W. injunction, making mere membership a civil offense.

No I. W. W. has been accused of any overt act, admission of membership being sufficient for conviction of criminal syndicalism. Defense witnesses were not allowed to testify unless members, and were then arrested for the admission. Tom Connors, defense secretary, was given five years for "jury tampering" because one of 20,000 appeals for repeal of the law signed by him as secretary fell into the hands of a member of a venire. Many outrages, notably the scalding of children at San Pedro in June, 1924, have diversified the routine of Criminal syndicalism prosecution. The only non-I. W. W. case now in California is that of Charlotte Anita Whitney, member of the defunct Communist Labor Party, now before the U. S. Supreme Court.

MIRIAM DE FORD SHIPLEY.

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During the period 1917-1920 statutes were enacted by the Federal Government and by nearly one-half of the state governments inflicting severe punishment upon those who advocate the commission of acts of violence, terrorism and crime to effect political and industrial changes.

In California many convictions have been secured against men who have committed no overt act but were merely members of the I. W. W. More than 100 men have been sent to San Quentin prison for long terms on the testimony of Coutts and Dymon who admitted that they had once been members of the I. W. W. and had committed outrageous crimes. Their testimony was supplemented by Townsend, who has been characterized by the Third District Court of Appeal as follows: Townsend "was allowed to and did state sufficient to show himself to have been one of the most reprehensible characters thinkable. He stated on the witness stand that he had never told the truth before in his life. He admitted participation in numberless atrocious offenses. It is unfortunate that anyone confessedly guilty of so many despicable crimes must be used as a witness." And yet the courts of California have heard the testimony of these vile witnesses in many cases where the defendants were unknown to the witnesses and have sent scores of innocent men to San Quentin.

Now the tide has turned, the monstrous doctrine of conviction for mere membership in the I. W. W. has been repu-

diated in eight cases recently decided, and the victims are being released as rapidly as they were convicted.

From article by Judge J. H. Ryckman.

### **Charlotte Anita Whitney**

In November, 1919, just after making an address before the largest women's club in Oakland on "The Negro Problem in the U. S." Miss Whitney was arrested and charged with Criminal Syndicalism. The trial hinged around her membership in and attendance at a Conference of the Communist Party.

She was convicted in February, 1920, and sentenced to from one to fourteen years in the state penitentiary. Her case has been carried through the state Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of California without a reversal and is now before the U. S. Supreme Court on the ground that the Criminal Syndicalism Law of California is a violation of the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution. Meanwhile Miss Whitney is at large but is held under \$20,000 bonds.

Miss Whitney has been an active worker for woman suffrage and prohibition, and against gambling and vice.

### **The Michigan Communists**

On August 22, 1922, seventeen Communists were arrested in Bridgman, Michigan, where they had been participating in a secret meeting. Several of them were indicted on the charge of membership in the Communist Party and advocacy of its principles, in violation of the criminal syndicalism law, no overt act being charged against anyone. William Z. Foster and Charles E. Ruthenberg have been tried. The jury in the Foster case disagreed on April 5, 1923. On May 4, Ruthenberg was found guilty of criminal syndicalism; his case was appealed and on December 10, 1924, the State Supreme Court affirmed the conviction and held the Criminal Syndicalism Act constitutional. On January 5, 1925, he began serving his sentence of three to ten years, but was again released on bail pending an appeal to the Supreme Court.

### **Benjamin Gitlow**

Benjamin Gitlow, business manager of the Revolutionary Age, was indicted under the criminal anarchy statute of New York State charged with publishing in his paper the Left Wing Manifesto. He squarely avowed responsibility and was convicted February 11, 1920, receiving the limit sentence of five to

ten years at hard labor and was imprisoned for twenty-seven months. In May, 1922, he was released on bail, pending an appeal to the Court of Appeals, which court, with two judges dissenting, affirmed his conviction. He was returned to jail in September, 1922, but was again released on bail in December, pending an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. This appeal, argued in April, 1923, and reargued in November, 1923, raises the question of the constitutionality of the criminal anarchy statute. Gitlow is still awaiting a decision which will either send him back to jail or will declare the criminal anarchy statute unconstitutional.

JOSEPH R. BRODSKY.

On June 8, 1925, the Supreme Court decided that the law did not deprive Gitlow of proper freedom of speech and was therefore constitutional. Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissented.

### **Industrial Workers of the World**

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics described the I. W. W., in 1924, Bulletin 349, from which this account is taken.

"Very shortly after its organization in June and July, 1905, the I. W. W. began its propaganda on the West Coast and soon had a number of flourishing locals. . . . The trouble began at a plant in North Portland when 28 chute men struck on March 1 against an increase of hours to 11 per day and for wages of \$3 per day, an increase of 50 cents per day. . . . The mills began importing strike breakers from Puget Sound, paying \$3.75 per day, but most of these deserted when they discovered the conditions in Portland. . . . The State Labor Commissioner offered his services as mediator, which offer was accepted by the I. W. W. but rejected by the employers. . . . The I. W. W. claimed that the strike was broken by the scabbing members of the American Federation of Labor. . . .

"During the first four conventions of the I. W. W. there was a bitter fight between those who believed in the use of political action by labor and those who rejected it entirely. The latter finally won in the fourth convention in 1908, largely by the aid of the 'overall brigade' from the Pacific coast. It is easy to see why the migratory worker has no use for political action. In the first place he seldom remains long enough in any locality to have a vote. . . . Again, the migratory worker often comes into conflict with the peace officers in the various

communities he visits, and has come to feel that the police, sheriffs and town marshals do not respect any of his rights and that there is a different law for him than for the employer. Such instances as the Bisbee 'deportation' in 1917 and the numerous occurrences of a similar nature but on a smaller scale have left the I. W. W. and the migratories in general with the opinion that 'There is no equality before the law, no justice in the courts' . . .

"The I. W. W. thinks of morality as simply the reflection of the ideas of the dominant economic class. . . . A single quotation will show its position:

"The I. W. W. does believe in 'right' and 'wrong.' But we understand that these terms are relative, depending in their ethical significance upon the standpoint from which they are considered. Our ethical code is interpreted solely from the standpoint of the working class and its interests. . . . We are indeed not concerned with what the master considers 'right' or 'wrong' . . . We want the earth and . . . anything which tends to promote that revolutionary tendency is 'right.'

"That the I. W. W. as an organization advocated or practiced sabotage during this period has not been proven, but there seems to be an abundance of evidence that individual members of the organization did resort to such practices as driving spikes in logs to break the saws, putting emery dust in machinery, wasting material through careless work, and similar methods. The only conviction secured was that of three members of the I. W. W. who went into a logging camp in the Olympic National Forest and induced the crew of fire fighters to strike while a forest fire was raging. For this they each served one year in the Federal prison."

The following is from a pamphlet published by the I.W.W. in 1919, and loaned by them for the purposes of this book in January, 1925.

"It is safe to say that 40,000 is a good estimate of the number of workers represented in the first convention. . . . The second convention met in September, 1906, with 93 delegates representing about 60,000 members. . . .

**Preamble**, as revised by the fourth convention:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few,



who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working-class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'"

"At the present time the organization has nineteen publications. . . .

"Under the I.W.W. sway in Goldfield, Nevada, the minimum wage for all kinds of labor was \$4.50 per day and the eight-hour day was universal. . . . No committees were ever sent to any employers. The union adopted wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside of the union hall, and it was the law. The employers were forced to come and see the union's committees."

About 500 members of the I.W.W. were convicted and imprisoned during the war; about 90 were pardoned and 137 were still in jail as political prisoners on January 1, 1925.

On February 24, 1925, Elmer Smith was disbarred by the State Supreme Court of Washington on the ground that in acting as attorney for the I. W. W. he advocated the aims of that organization. The American Civil Liberties Union reports that

Smith is the fifth lawyer to be disbarred since the war for radical affiliations.

### **Abraham Lincoln**

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."—First inaugural.

"The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court . . . the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."—First inaugural.

"And inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor is a worthy object of any good government."—Dec. 1, 1847.

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed."—Dec. 3, 1861, Message to Congress.

"I hold that if there is any one thing that can be proved to be the will of heaven without reference to Revelation, it is the proposition that whatever any one man earns with his hands, and by the sweat of his brow, he shall enjoy in peace."—Sept. 17, 1859, Speech at Cincinnati.

## Chapter IV

### ATTEMPTED REFORMS

During the past generation there has been somewhat greater appreciation than before of the value of labor, the right of the worker to reasonable comforts and the necessity of curbing the rapacity of corporations in their profit-making careers. This sentiment has been expressed in legislation that occasionally has survived the attacks of the unsocially minded.

In spite of the 300 labor laws declared unconstitutional (See Bulletin 321 of U. S. Bur. of Labor Statistics) certain beneficent statutes have been retained to better working conditions or to protect the public from outrageous prices. In many cases these have been disappointing. Government bureaus have been created, designed to protect the worker, but their activities have more often than not failed to realize the ambitions of the laboring class.

Conferences have been called and failed to improve conditions to any great extent, and enactments by various states have also been disappointing. In some way the powerful interests have managed to defeat the aims of the constructive or restrictive legislation, and while there has been improvement in the lot of the laboring man, he has been decidedly disillusioned concerning the efficacy of political action.

Following are some of the instances where the result of reform measures has been less effective in eliminating injustice than the framers of the proposals originally anticipated.

As Jessie Wallace Hughan says, in "A Study of International Government," "In every industrial country the economic interests of private citizens wield a power at least equal to that of the Government, and the latter must either work in harmony with them or commit political suicide."

#### **Department of Labor**

The Bureau of Labor was created in the Department of the Interior in 1884. The Department of Commerce and Labor was organized to include the Bureau of Labor which was again transferred, in 1913, to the New Department of Labor which also includes the Children's Bureau and Bureaus of Immigration and Naturalization.

Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, describes its functions: "The purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to

foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment.' . . . This act wrote into statute law practical recognition of the rights of the body of workers who make up the great majority of our people. It accepted the principle that a happy, contented, progressive group of working men and women was fundamentally necessary to the progress of our country. It demonstrated that popular government has finally and irrevocably committed itself to the doctrine for which the working men and women have struggled through all the centuries since it was laid down by the Carpenter of Nazareth—the doctrine that the laborer is worthy of his hire."

(The modern industrial worker is discontented with the theory that he is worth only the hire an employer may see fit to give him. In addition he wants a share in the ownership and management of industry.)

"In the welfare of the wage earner lies the future of the Republic. The basis of the best patriotism lies in the homes of the people, and the vast majority of the people of America today are the wage earners. A contented, satisfied workman, happy in his work, earning a wage sufficient to insure comfort and advancement to his family, is a social, economic and political asset to his community and to his country. In the direction of making every wage earner in the United States this kind of citizen lies the work of the Department of Labor."

### **Bureau of Immigration**

This Bureau "Guards the gates of the Nation, and under the laws passed by Congress protects the American workman from injurious competition from abroad."

(The immigration problem is variously viewed. Employers regret their inability to secure cheap labor, pleading that Americans will not dig our ditches and lay our railways; organized labor approves the bar to competition; radicals claim that the world should be free for all to travel and live in as they see fit.)

"Upon one condition employers may import skilled labor. They must establish that such labor, unemployed, can not be found in the United States. The immigration statutes bar aliens over 16 years old who are unable to read in some language or dialect. . . . Special laws exclude Chinese (and now Japanese) laborers and aliens from certain defined sections of Asia."

"In one class of cases the law can not be too strictly read nor too rigidly enforced. These are the appeals of crafty missionaries of foreign hate and apostles of the destruction of law and order, who seek admission to America in order to preach the downfall of our institutions. . . . I hold that no man deserves our aid and support who fails to embrace those fundamentals upon which our forefathers built this Nation, I insist that all Americans must hold faith in these things—the right to protection of life, liberty and property, the right of contract, and the right of free labor. Upon these principles rests the whole fabric of our Government and the happiness and progress of our people. I would deny our help to all men and all nations that oppose them."

See Humanity in Government, Government Printing Office.

### **Bureau of Naturalization**

This Bureau "Undertakes to turn the aliens who come to us into liberty-loving, self-respecting citizens entitled to take their place with our great group of wage earners. . . . In the United States today (1923) are nearly 14,000,000 foreign born, and of these, one-half have not yet accepted the privileges, duties and responsibilities of American citizenship. . . . The alien must therefore be enrolled and a record kept of his progress. . . . Some objection to this program is raised because its opponents declare it would be similar to the old espionage system of the Czar, but, it must be pointed out, the czarist regime never had such a program for welfare and education. True, we would be able to locate more easily the radical leaders engaged in sinister propaganda against the Government. They ought to be discovered and returned to the countries from which they came."

### **The Children's Bureau**

Established in 1912, this Bureau investigates the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupation, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories. "Each year in the United States from 230,000 to 250,000 babies die in the first year of life, and about 23,000 mothers die in bringing children into the world. . . . Investigators have reached the conclusion that if all children were



well born and well cared for the mortality among infants and mothers would be negligible."

### **Division of Conciliation**

"The Secretary of Labor shall have power to act as mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation in labor disputes whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace may require it to be done."

From March 4, 1921, to June 30, 1922, "a few more than 500 cases of strikes and threatened strikes and lockouts have been acted upon by department officials. Of these, 345 cases were satisfactorily adjusted by the commissioners of conciliation; 59 were adjusted by the commissioners of conciliation in co-operation with local officials and agencies; 39 cases are pending or in process of adjustment, and in 59 cases the Department has failed to secure a settlement."

### **Bureau of Labor Statistics**

"Gathers, collates and reports statistics of labor and generally disseminates labor information." Issues the Monthly Labor Review.

### **U. S. Employment Service**

"Maintains a national system of employment offices and co-ordinates the public employment offices throughout the country by furnishing and publishing information as to opportunities for employment and by maintaining a system of clearing labor between the several states."

Maintains a Farm Labor Bureau at 2014 Main Street, Kansas City, Mo., to assist in the caring for such crops as require special seasonal labor help.

"One of the evils of American industrial life is seasonal or part time employment."

### **Department of Agriculture**

This Department spent \$143,057,947 in 1924 to improve crops, protect livestock from disease, prepare market news and statistics of prices, improving the national forest system that has proved more successful than anticipated.

### **U. S. Housing Corporation**

Created during the war for the purpose of providing housing accommodations for those engaged in war industries, it now continues operating several hotels and 6,000 houses in 17 states,

pending their disposal. "It has well been said that home ownership is the most effective antidote for bolshevism," says James J. Davis.

### **Sherman Anti-Trust Law**

An act of Congress passed in 1890 declaring any combination of business in restraint of interstate trade or trade with foreign countries to be illegal. Although the authors of the act gave organized labor to understand that it would not be used against labor unions, one of the first suits brought under the act, in the Danbury Hatters' case, was directed against labor.

### **Erdman Act**

This was the second law enacted by Congress for the Settlement of railway labor disputes, the first having been enacted in 1888. The Erdman Act became law on June 1, 1898, and provided for mediation, conciliation and arbitration in strikes affecting interstate commerce.

The U. S. Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the section that made it illegal to exact of a workingman a promise not to belong to a labor union. When the Government took over the railroads, the Director General, Wm. G. McAdoo, announced that no discrimination should be made against a worker because of membership in a union.

### **Newlands Act**

The third stage in the development of Federal power in the settlement of railway labor disputes passed July 15, 1913. It slightly amended the Erdman Act by limiting the decision of the board of arbitration to the issues involved.

### **Adamson Law**

An act passed by Congress in September, 1916, largely as a means of avoiding a threatened railway strike. It provided, among other things, that, after January 1, 1917, "eight hours shall be deemed a day's work and the measure or standard of a day's work" for the purpose of calculating the compensation of railway trainmen.

When this law was enacted the brotherhoods were severely condemned for "forcing the law upon Congress," but when the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the law, it was the managers and not the labor leaders who were delighted. |

**Esch-Cummins Law**

This is the Transportation Act of 1920, under which the Railroad Labor Board was created to adjust railway disputes. Under this law the Government reimbursed the railroads for deficits while under federal control for three years ending March 1, 1920, the average annual previous earnings being taken as a basis. Under Section 15 (a) the Interstate Commission adjusts rates so railroads will "earn an aggregate annual net railway operating income equal, as nearly as may be, to a fair return upon the aggregate value of the railway property. . . ." The Commission has established  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent as a "fair return."

**Railroad Labor Board**

A federal board created in 1920, consisting of three representatives of the railroad management, three representatives of railway employees and three representatives of the "public." It is empowered to hear and settle disputes between workers and management involving wages, grievances, rules, etc. The powerlessness of the Board to compel the railroads to do things they deemed unpleasant and the numerous decisions against the railway workers have rendered it exceedingly unpopular among the workers and have led to a demand for its abolition.

See "Use of Federal Power in Settlement of Railway Labor Disputes," U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1922. See also index.

**Interstate Commerce Commission**

The original act was approved February 4, 1887, and its scope has been widened by the Elkins Act, the Hepburn Act, the Mann-Elkins Act and others culminating with the Transportation Act of 1920 amended February 24, 1922. The Commission is empowered to supervise the issuance of securities of common carriers and regulate rates so that only a reasonable return shall be earned on the value of the properties, which has been determined to be  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. The Commission is preparing a plan for the consolidation of the railways into a limited number of systems, and is engaged in appraising the present value of their properties. The President is authorized to advance money to the carriers, the amounts to be certified by the Commission to the Secretary of the Treasury.

### **Federal Trade Commission**

Created in 1914 to prevent unfair methods of competition in commerce, such as procuring trade secrets by espionage or bribery of employees, making false statements about competitors' products, the use of false advertisements, misrepresentation in the sale of stock of corporations, etc. The Commission is also given powers under the Clayton anti-trust Act.

See Congressional Directory, December, 1924.

### **Clayton Act-Duplex Printing Case**

The Clayton Act, passed by Congress in October, 1914, is an amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It declared, among other things, that labor was not a commodity; that injunctions could not be issued against peaceful picketing, against lawful boycotting, etc., and furthermore, that these acts could not be held illegal. On January 3, 1921, the Supreme Court of the United States greatly limited the scope of this act by a 6 to 3 decision in the case of Duplex Printing Co. vs. The International Association of Machinists. It maintained (1) that the Act failed to legalize any except the **normal** activities of trade unions and (2) that the secondary boycott, in which the workers threatened loss of business to a third party not involved in the original controversy, still remained illegal.

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### **Lever Act**

A comprehensive war time act providing for more effective control over the production and distribution of food and coal and the prevention of profiteering. Although assurances had been given that its provisions did not apply to trade union action to obtain better conditions, it was made the basis, during the regime of Attorney General Palmer, in November, 1919, of a drastic injunction against the United Mine Workers. Coal operators, on the other hand, charged with profiteering, were relieved from prosecution under its provisions, for the U. S. Supreme Court decided unanimously, on February 28, 1921, that the profiteering and hoarding sections were unconstitutional. About 2,500 prosecutions were thus nullified.

### **Keating-Owen Bill**

A bill passed by Congress in 1916 prohibiting firms from transporting from one state to another products made in fac-

tories in which children under fourteen were employed, or in which children between fourteen and sixteen worked at night, or more than six days a week or more than eight hours a day. This law was declared unconstitutional in 1918 by the U. S. Supreme Court.

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Since the enactment of the anti-trust laws, 290 cases have been instituted by the United States charging monopoly, restraint of trade, or other infraction of the law, including suits against the Aluminum Co. of America; Amer. Can Co.; Amer. Sugar Refining Co.; Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.; Amer. Tobacco Co.; Armour & Co.; Atlas Portland Cement Co.; Burroughs Adding Machine Co.; Coal Dealers Assn.; Corn Products Refining Co.; Cudahy Packing Co.; Du Pont de Nemours & Co.; Eastman Kodak Co.; General Electric Co.; International Harvester Co.; Kellogg Toasted Cornflake Co.; Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.; Missouri Pacific Railroad Co.; National Cash Register Co.; N. Y., New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co.; Northern Securities Co.; Otis Elevator Co.; Southern Pacific Co.; Standard Oil Co.; Swift & Co.; Union Pacific R. R. Co.; U. S. Steel Co.; Victor Talking Machine Co.

Many of the companies have prospered greatly since the legal prosecutions and have continued to dominate prices. On February 28, 1925, the Federal Trade Commission reported that the Standard Oil Company still set the price of oil for the country.

### Labor Legislation

Laws have been enacted in various states to better the condition of the workers. The **Mechanics Lien** law enables the laborer to claim from the owner of the building wages not paid by the contractor. **Minimum wage** laws in the United States cover only women and children, and even then have been declared unconstitutional in some instances, and in the dozen or more States having such laws the weekly wage varies from \$4 to \$20. **Regulation of hours** is in force in many states, but in some the hours for children are as long as eleven. The struggle for regulation of women's working hours was finally won in the courts, and by 1922 all but five states had laws limiting the hours for women to 8, 9 or 10 a day. A few states also limit the hours of men to 10 a day; the constitutionality of statutes



limiting men's hours to 8 being still uncertain. **Workmen's Compensation** laws have been adopted in most of the states and have been declared constitutional. Instead of being obliged to sue the employer when injured, the law compels the employer to insure against accidents, thus enabling the worker to collect amounts graded according to his pay and the nature of the injury.

See "Labor Problems and Labor Legislation," by John B. Andrews.

### The Unemployment Conference

On September 26, 1921, a National Unemployment Conference called by President Harding, met at Washington. The object of the conference was that of advising the President in regard to emergency measures for the unemployment crisis, inquiring into the volume of unemployment and suggesting some permanent remedies. About 100 attended the conference which urged individuals and government bodies to develop repair and construction work and to manufacture for stock as a way of helping the nation over the crisis. The succeeding month the Conference recommended at its meeting a number of general measures, including the limitation of armaments, regularization of industry, the putting aside by governmental bodies of money for use in carrying out construction work in time of depression, etc.

A more comprehensive report on unemployment was later prepared by a Committee on Unemployment and Business Cycles, of the President's Conference on Unemployment. This was published in 1923. The basis of the report was in part an admirable study on "Business Cycles and Unemployment" prepared by the National Bureau of Economic Research, which secured the co-operation of a large number of experts and went into great detail regarding the manner in which industrial conditions could be stabilized in the railroad, textile, clothing, governmental and other industries, and the effects of such measures as unemployment insurance and trade union benefits on the unemployment problem. The report of the committee, however, evaded many of the more fundamental remedies proposed by students of the subject.

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William Green, president of the A. F. of L. wrote, in February, 1925: "Recommendations were made, some of them calling for action by the government itself, not in a fraternalistic manner, but in a constructive manner involving the furnishing of legitimate work. The past winter has shown no indication of the materialization of those recommendations."

At the time of the Conference there were 3,500,000 to 5,500,000 workers unemployed. Temporary measures suggested were the establishment of employment agencies, housecleaning of hotels and homes to be done in winter, construction work to be expedited and that manufacturers should provide part time work. Among the permanent proposals for relief were; readjustment of railway rates, reduction of taxes so that more business would be started, settlement of tariff legislation, minimization of the fluctuations in foreign exchange and the elimination of waste.

#### **Conference on the Limitation of Armament**

Convened at Washington November 11, 1921, its work was ratified by the U. S. Senate in March, 1922. Agreement was reached upon "a series of six treaties and twelve resolutions which are destined to effect great changes in economic conditions throughout the world. . . . A belief in the pacific intentions of other powers must be substituted for suspicion and apprehension."

Limitations were placed on the capital ships to be retained by Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and the United States, and other details regarding warfare were adopted. A merchant vessel must not be attacked by submarines unless it refuse to submit to visit and search after warning, and must not be destroyed until the crew and passengers have been placed in safety. Poisonous gases are not to be used in warfare.

France did not ratify the treaties until July 10, 1925.

#### **Industrial Conference**

Convened by the President on December 1, 1919. It outlined causes of unrest, recommended employee representation for prevention of disputes and proposed a plan of arbitration for adjustment of controversies that should arise.

See Report of Industrial Conference, March 6, 1920.

#### **League of Nations**

Senator Borah says that every invasion of territory since the League was created has been by a member of the League,

that every move for disarmament has been opposed by a member.

(See facts on both sides under Articlettes.)

### **Religion**

The discovery that religious people not only considered it consistent to prosecute war but also to persecute those who opposed war, and that organized religion is as often as not a hindrance to progress, have been among the disillusionments of recent years.

### **Direct Primaries**

The direct primary system is a system whereby the registered members of a party nominate the candidates of the party directly, instead of, as heretofore, through the medium of party conventions. The direct primary system has led to a greater participation of the people in the nomination of candidates than under the delegate system. In some states it has weakened boss rule, has eliminated the cumbrous and expensive machinery of delegate conventions, and has made the candidates more receptive to the will of the people. In other states little improvement has been seen. The candidate favored by the party machine has usually by far the best chance of election. The money and energy that must be put into an effective campaign against the machine candidate by an independent candidate makes an independent candidacy in most instances prohibitive, and most candidates put up by the party machine are nominated without a contest. The direct primary in those instances merely transfers the real, though not the official nomination, from the party convention to the party caucus meeting before the primary. It costs the state more money than the convention system. It concentrates attention at times too much on the individual, too little on the issues involved. It certainly has not as yet made any revolutionary change in political control.

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### **Impartial Arbitrators**

Basil M. Manly wrote in *The Survey*: "These so-called impartial arbitrators are ordinarily drawn from the professional classes. As a rule they are judges, lawyers, teachers or preachers. . . . There is a class consciousness on the part of all but a few exceptional individuals which inevitably influences their judgment. . . . Most professional men have investments in in-

dustrial enterprises. . . Nine-tenths of the lawyers are dependent upon corporation practice. Less directly, but none the less inevitably, are the other professions dependent upon the favor of employers and corporations. . . . Both Judge Gary and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., were members of the "public group" in President Wilson's Industrial Conference."

Fair-minded as the arbitrators may be, they are usually men who benefit more from a decrease than an increase in wages.

### **The Kansas Industrial Court**

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations was created by the Legislature of Kansas in 1920. It was composed of three judges appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The law declared that certain industries, public utilities and common carriers were "affected with a public interest and therefore subject to supervision by the State." These were: the manufacture or preparation of food products; the manufacture of clothing and wearing apparel; the mining or production of any substance used as fuel, and the transportation of all food products and articles or substances entering into wearing apparel or fuel. Further, the law conferred on the Court of Industrial Relations all the powers of the Public Utilities Commission of the State.

It was provided that in case a controversy arose between employers and workers or between groups or crafts of workers engaged in any of the above industries, employments, etc., if it should appear to the Court that the controversy might endanger the continuity or the efficiency of the service of any of the said industries, employments, etc., authority was granted the said Court, upon its own initiative, to summon all necessary parties before it and to investigate said controversy. After such hearings and investigation the Court was empowered to make and serve upon all interested parties, its findings, stating specifically the terms and conditions upon which said industry, employment, etc., should be thereafter conducted insofar as the matters determined by said Court were concerned. It was made the duty of the Court of Industrial Relations to hold such hearings and investigations upon complaint of any ten citizen taxpayers. It was further provided that should any controversy arise between any employer and employee as to wages, hours,

or working conditions, in any of the industries not above specified, the parties to such controversy might by mutual agreement signed in writing, and with the consent of the Court, refer the same to the Court of Industrial Relations for its findings and orders. After hearing and investigation, the findings and orders of the Court in these cases were to have the same force and effect as those made in the essential industries before mentioned.

Any union or association of workers engaged in the specified industries, employments, etc., and which was incorporated under the laws of the State, was to be recognized by said Court as a legal entity and allowed to appear before said Court through and by its proper officers, attorneys, or other representatives and the right of such corporations and of unincorporated unions or associations of workers to bargain collectively for their members was recognized.

It was made unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to discharge or discriminate against an employee because he was a witness or complainant before the Court. And it was also declared unlawful for two or more persons to conspire or confederate to injure any other person or persons in their business, labor or enterprise by boycott, discrimination, picketing, propaganda, or other means, because of any action taken by such person or persons before the Court.

It was provided that nothing in the law should be construed as restricting the right of an individual employee to quit his employment at any time, but it was made unlawful for such employee or other person to conspire with others to quit their employment or to induce other persons to quit for the purpose of hindering, delaying, etc., the specified industries and employments, or to engage in what is known as picketing, or to intimidate such person or persons for the purpose of preventing them from accepting employment in or remaining in the employ of any of the specified industries or employments.

There was a provision which made it unlawful for any person, firm or corporation engaged in the specified industries and employments from ceasing operations for the purpose of avoiding any of the provisions of the Act, unless said person, firm or corporation could show to the Court the necessity therefor.



In the case of the failure or refusal of either party coming before the Court to obey the order of such Court, then the Court was empowered to bring proceedings in the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas, to compel compliance with the Court's orders. It was allowed that either party appearing before the Court should have the privilege within ten days after the service of the Court's order, to bring proceedings before the Supreme Court of the State to compel the Court of Industrial Relations to make a just, reasonable and lawful order in the controversy. Where cases of this kind were taken before the Supreme Court they had precedence over other civil cases.

Anyone wilfully violating the provisions of the Act creating the Court, or any valid order of the Court, was to be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction in any court having jurisdiction, such person could be punished by a fine not to exceed \$1000 or imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed a year, or by both fine and imprisonment.

There were 153 cases coming before this Court in the first two years of its existence. It is difficult to say whether the Court was not responsible for as much disorder it created as for the peace it maintained. It had several fights with organized labor and more than one labor leader was imprisoned for being in contempt through disobeying the orders of the Court. The Court did, however, adjust many disputes, and in the majority of cases its rulings were obeyed. Cases were carried to the Supreme Court of the State and also to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the celebrated Howat cases the law was attacked in the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground of its constitutionality. This Court was "of the opinion that in neither case is the Kansas Industrial Relations Act presented in such a way as to permit us to pass upon those features which are attacked by the plaintiffs in error as violative of the Constitution of the United States."

On June 11th, 1923, Chief Justice Taft, of the United States Supreme Court, in an opinion in the case of the Wolff Packing Company vs. the Court of Industrial Relations of the State of Kansas, said, "It has never been supposed since the adoption of the Constitution that the business of the butcher or the baker, the tailor, the wood-chopper, the mining operator, or the miner, was clothed with such a public interest that the price of his product or his wages could be fixed by state regulation."

It was further held that "the Industrial Court Act insofar as it permits the fixing of wages in the plaintiff's packing house, is in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment."

Again, on April 13, 1925, Judge Van Devanter delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the same case, to the effect that the compulsory arbitration which the Act established would compel the owner and employees to continue a business on terms which were not of their own making, and that this infringed the liberty of contract and rights of property guaranteed by the due process of law clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

These decisions have practically destroyed the Court's vitality and put a check on the movement for the adoption of compulsory arbitration in the United States. The Kansas Court is still in existence, but it has been suggested in view of these decisions that the Judges resign and thus allow the Court to cease to function.

The establishing of this Court was unique in the United States. No other body has been authorized by law to make compulsory rulings in industrial disputes without the voluntary consent of employers and employees. The Act creating this Court not only restricted strikes but it also restricted collective bargaining. It is plainly apparent that the American employer and the American workman are not yet ready to have an industrial court imposed upon them, from above, and the record of the Kansas Industrial Court makes a poor showing alongside of the industrial courts set up in this country through the voluntary act of organized employers and organized workers.

CHARLES B. BARNES.

### The Federal Farm Loan System

Our first law to authorize co-operative banking, the Federal Farm Loan Act, passed in 1916, devised a sound means by which responsible farmers could lower their own interest rates on mortgage loans. It bestowed on farmers the power to create and *to control* their own credit pool. To obtain the funds to lend, 12 district pools covering the whole United States were granted the privilege of issuing and *selling* bonds secured by lands under mortgage. To the stockholders in the pool itself was entrusted the power to develop a market for these bonds. Agriculture therefore was in a position first to make itself largely independent of centralized financial groups—an entering wedge for a general decen-

tralization of credit. By operating economically it was possible to cut the interest rate in half, as has been done by similar co-operative pools in other countries.

Farmers promptly did their part creating this pool, forming 4,500 farm loan associations, paying in to date 45 millions for capital stock. Yet they have been unjustly denied the guaranteed control of their system, now possessing a billion of assets.

Congress set up 12 Federal Land Banks, loaning, to start them, nine millions, now practically repaid out of earnings. When a farmer wanted a loan he applied for membership in the nearest farm loan association. His land was carefully appraised, first by neighbors, and second by Federal appointees. If his application was granted, he was required to purchase stock in the Land Bank of his district. Wholly capitalized by farmers, the law gave the stockholders the right to elect the majority, six out of nine directors of each Land Bank Board. Every qualification was met in a year or so, yet no elections whatever were called in seven years. The Federal Farm Loan Board, set up to supervise—*Not to manage*—the system, early reported that it did not believe in banks “controlled by the borrowers.” It usurped the power of the Land Bank boards to sell their own bonds, arranging that the bonds be sold on commission by a preferred, exclusive centralized syndicate of financiers, naturally opposed to decentralization. Farm loan bonds backed by the best security in the world could be sold by national banks or by an efficiently devised independent bond distributing agency.

In 1923, after seven years, this Board, having become a superlative bureaucracy, secured amendments to the law irregularly passed by the Senate, which deprived stockholders of their *legal* right to elect a majority of directors. The Government now appoints the majority. This change, depriving stockholders of their inherent power to manage their own enterprise, is held by authorities to constitute a quasi-confiscation of their property rights. Members of the twelve interlocking pools are now as independent as tribal Indians. Instead of any responsible farmer being able to join this pool and secure rational credit, not half the approved applications are granted. The fixed bond-selling policy adopted apparently limits the usefulness of the system. The interest rate has been lowered to 1 per cent, but private companies now charge less for quicker service. The large political patronage of the system, offering 1,600 places not under civil service, adds

to the cost of the service. Appointees affect or determine the distribution of 100 to 300 millions annually, a situation capable of abuse that might affect every voter in the land.

Either this should be turned into a government system outright—paying farmers back capital they put up, instituting civil service, and selling bonds under Treasury rules which forbid preferential contracts—or the amendments should be repealed which deprive farmers of their just and guaranteed control, and genuine co-operative administration of the system from top to bottom be made possible.

GERTRUDE MATHEWS SHELBY.

## Chapter V

### CLASS DISTINCTIONS

It is frequently asserted that there are no class distinctions in the United States notwithstanding the current phrases, "upper class," "middle class," "lower class," "working class," but the following conditions indicate distinctions incompatible with the declaration that all men are equal.

#### Race

People of alien races are no longer admitted indiscriminately as in the days of our forefathers. Japanese, Chinese and Hindus are excluded from citizenship, while Africans may become naturalized.

Although the 15th Amendment to the Constitution forbids discrimination in the franchise, there is wide-spread disfranchisement of Negroes in the South. This is accomplished by intimidation, terrorization and violence; by the action of local registrars; by the establishment of "white" primaries; by economic pressure. "If you want to hold your job then stay away from the polls!"

Negroes are segregated on railroads throughout the South and in restaurants and theatres in many places in the North.

3,038 Negroes have been lynched between 1885 and 1921. Agitation for the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, together with the northward migration of colored people, helped to bring about an improvement in recent years. The total number of lynchings of Negroes and whites in 1922 was 61, in 1923, 28 and in 1924, 16. Several of the states have passed laws against lynching, and there is a growing effort to make lynching a federal crime.

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was passed by the U. S. House of Representatives on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119, and it was reported favorably by the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate. Called up for consideration before the Senate, November 28, 1922, the Bill was filibustered by Southern Democrats for four days, during which time they would not allow even the adoption of the record of the Senate's proceedings. The Bill was finally abandoned.

Information furnished by Augustus Granville Dill, of The Crisis.

As Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. John R. Shillady went to Austin, Texas, in August, 1919, to see the Attorney General and Justice



of the Peace concerning the activities of the local branch of his organization. He sent word that he was coming and upon his arrival had several interviews with officials, at which he explained the peaceful and legal character of his aims and that public equality for the Negro and not social equality was asked. On August 22, as he was approaching his hotel, he was seized without warning, and beaten until he was bloody and bruised over his face, head and chest. An Associated Press despatch of August 23 stated that County Judge Dave J. Pickle said that the attack was made by "himself, Constable Charles Hamby and Ben Pierce, none of whom, he declared, would shirk responsibility in the matter." Governor Hobby wrote to the Association that "Shillady was the only offender in connection with the matter. . . . Your organization can contribute more to the advancement of both races by keeping your representatives and their propaganda out of this state than in any other way."

Mr. Shillady is a white man.

### The Courts

The U. S. Industrial Relations Commission reported: "the sources from which industrial unrest springs are . . . denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and in the administration of law."

Elihu Root said: "In such a game (litigation) the poor stand little chance against the rich, or the honest against the unscrupulous."

The American Judicature Society Bulletin VIII, page 24, contained the following: "With all our prating about justice, we deliberately withhold it from the thousands who are too poor to pay for it."

Chief Justice Taft said: "We must make it so that the poor man will have as nearly as possible an equal opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not the fact."

See "Justice and the Poor," by Reginald Heber Smith, published by the Carnegie Foundation.

The Legal Aid Society says it is false that the poor can not get justice in the courts, but then it cites 848,844 cases where poor people have come to them for help "to get their just and legal rights" which lack of money prevented them from obtaining without charity.

Rich men frequently receive lighter sentences for the same crime than the poor, or are pardoned, or escape after conviction.

**Harry Thaw**—On the roof of Madison Square Garden, Harry Thaw, of a rich Pittsburgh family, shot Stanford White in the presence of many witnesses. His trial resulted in committal to Matteawan Asylum for the criminal insane. After a few years he escaped and was never returned. Subsequently he kidnapped and horsewhipped Frederick Gump, an 18-year old boy. A civil suit for damages was settled for \$100,000, but in December, 1924, the criminal action against him was dropped and he is at liberty.

**Charles W. Morse**—Sentenced to 15 years in Atlanta penitentiary, in 1909, for illegal use of banks' funds for the purpose of vast speculation schemes and fraudulent entries to conceal such use, but was pardoned by President Taft. Morse offered Felder and Daugherty \$25,000 to get him out of jail, but, though they were successful, did not pay in full. Daugherty admitted receiving \$4,000. Felder wrote a letter in which his reasons for not pressing Morse for further payment are as follows: "We were informed that the Department was in possession of evidence going to show that after physicians were appointed to examine Morse and before they appeared on the scene, that soap suds or chemicals or something would be taken by him to produce hemorrhage of the kidneys, and that as soon as the examination was over that the patient would recuperate rapidly."

In 1920, Charles W. Morse was receiving a salary of \$18,000 as chairman of the board of directors of the Groton plant, where E. A. Morse received \$19,000, B. W. Morse \$12,500 and H. F. Morse \$10,000. They obtained large contracts from the Government and Charles W. Morse was again indicted for fraudulent action. He retained William G. McAdoo to defend him.

**William Bross Lloyd**—Convicted of criminal syndicalism in 1922, after spending \$200,000 in his legal fight, Lloyd was pardoned after a few days in jail. Governor Small was threatened with impeachment for granting the pardon. He said that Lloyd and the others released were not criminals, and expressed agreement with the minority opinion of the State Supreme Court that the law was unconstitutional.

**Francis H. Nobbe**—This prominent tile manufacturer was released from prison on January 8, 1922, by President Harding

after serving about one month of his four months' sentence for violating the Federal anti-trust laws.

**J. Herman Dierks**—A Cincinnati banker, convicted under the Espionage Act and sentenced to five years in Atlanta. Pardoned by President Harding in 1922 before starting to serve his term, having been delayed by illness.

**Abby Rockefeller**—John F. Hylan, Mayor of New York City, wrote to the Bar Association in 1924: "A police officer summons a wealthy speed law violator to court and the Magistrate imposes a suspended sentence without the personal appearance of the defendant. Within a few months the same wealthy offender is summoned by another policeman for a similar offense. Again there is no personal appearance of the defendant; the police officer is improperly advised, for reasons best known to those so advising, as to the action taken upon the first offense; and again a suspended sentence is imposed by the same Magistrate. Such a procedure makes a travesty of justice. It tends to a confirmation of the belief that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. And this impairs faith in the judiciary."

**Leopold and Loeb**—On May 22, 1924, Nathan Leopold, Jr., and Richard Loeb, university students, sons of wealthy parents, kidnapped and killed 14-year old Robert Franks in order to get a thrill. Judge John R. Caverly sentenced them to life imprisonment.

**Charles L. Craig**—In December, 1923, Comptroller Craig, of New York City was sentenced to sixty days in jail for contempt of court. His offense was that he wrote a letter to Lewis Nixon, Public Service Commissioner, criticizing Federal Judge Julius M. Mayer for denying to the City information concerning the affairs of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company whose receiver had been appointed by Judge Mayer. Without any jury trial Craig was sentenced by the same judge he had criticized, and Judge Mayer's action was upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the United States, Justices Holmes and Brandeis dissenting. President Coolidge granted a suspension of sentence.

**The Oil Scandals**—After the exposure of the leasing of Teapot Dome (which see) the Government brought suit against Albert B. Fall, Harry F. Sinclair and the Dohenys for bribery and corruption. At the time of the trial three important wit-

nesses absented themselves from the country, the ten lawyers for the defense persuaded the court to exclude testimony regarding coupons from \$233,500 Liberty bonds deposited under suspicious circumstances, and the chief Justice of the District of Columbia finally quashed the indictments on the technical ground that an Assistant Attorney General had been illegally present in the grand jury room.

The Government's suit against Burton K. Wheeler was conducted quite differently, and was described by "The Nation" for May 6, 1925:

"The Republican Party, smarting at Wheeler's revelation of the corrupt atmosphere of its Department of Justice, sent a tool, Blair Coan, to Montana, instructed to 'get something' on Wheeler. The tool has confessed that the plot was hatched with George Lockwood of the Republican National Committee and Harry Daugherty himself. The trial was delayed until after the election, apparently in order to injure the La Follette-Wheeler candidacy. When it came, the prosecution resorted to the indecency of a secret 'surprise witness,' so that the defense might not know with what it was charged, a flagrant violation of the elementary principles of legal ethics. And now, after all, the Montana jury has voted Wheeler not guilty, unanimously and on the first ballot. All the power and all the sleuths of the Coolidge Administration and of the Daugherty gang could not build up a case against this exposé of corruption.

"The facts of this case ought never to be forgotten. They cut deep into the rottenness of official Washington. Senator Wheeler, almost single-handed, had forced the Senate to investigate Harry Daugherty's administration of the Department of Justice. Although not the chairman of the investigating committee, he led its work. The revelations which he made forced President Coolidge, albeit unwillingly, to call for Daugherty's resignation, exposed a system of crookedness and misuse of influence, and have since led to a clean-up of Atlanta Prison and to several convictions. If the Government had been as eager to punish crooks as political opponents it would have led to more."

The class distinction is that the Government caused Senator Wheeler great annoyance and expense though there was no evidence against him, whereas the men whose corruption he had exposed and who were caught red-handed were whitewashed

through a technicality. The same endeavor to punish the ex-posers of guilt is evident in the case of Senator Couzens.

**Carl C. Magee**—In 1923, Magee, who was editor of the State Tribune of Albuquerque, protested against the misuse of public funds by the clerk of the court, and accused Judge Parker of indifference to the crime. He was tried for contempt by a Judge who was a friend of Judge Parker, the law books of the defense were mutilated during a recess and when sentence of 12 months hard labor was passed, the Judge in his charge compared Magee to Czolgosz, the assassin of McKinley. Then came another trial for contempt, before the Judge who brought the charge and without a jury, resulting in a sentence of one year in jail and a fine of \$4,050. Governor Hinkle pardoned Magee.

Contempt of court cases create contempt for court.

**Jury Service** is restricted in many localities to those owning property, or by other means of selection that exclude manual laborers of the lower classes.

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Robert Whitaker says that in Los Angeles in 1925 a man who commits murder can insist upon a trial within sixty days, but a workman whom it is convenient for some lumber company to put out of the way may be thrown into jail and kept there, without being called before a court, indefinitely.

A law breaker is less apt to be arrested if he is prominent than if he is poor. A rich drunken man found in the street is sent home in a cab; a poor drunkard is arrested and sent to jail.

The Supreme Court often interprets the Constitution of 1789 in such a way as to nullify legislation enacted to meet the economic conditions of today. See Unconstitutionality.

Punishment for a petty offense is often a choice between jail or a fine. The poor man can not always afford the fine so is imprisoned, while the rich man pays the small sum that secures his freedom.

When bail is set, the rich man speedily obtains it while the poor man often languishes in prison for many months even when innocent.

In 1922 our courts held that citizens of Russia and Mexico, countries not recognized diplomatically, could not bring suits in our courts but could be sued.

For a short time an attachment was in force against the Mexican consulate in New York contrary to international law.



"The courts must stand at all times as the representatives of capital, of captains of industry, devoted to the principle of individual initiative, protect property and persons from violence and destruction, strongly opposed to all schemes for the nationalization of Industry, and yet save labor from oppression and be conciliatory toward the removal of the workers' just grievances."—Justice James C. Van Sicken, in 1921.

"It should be remembered that of the three fundamental principles which underlie government and for which government exists, the protection of life, liberty and property, the chief of these is property."—Justice Van Orsdel of the Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, in the minimum wage case.

**Kaufman and Lindheim**—S. Walter Kaufman and Norvin R. Lindheim were convicted for violating the Espionage Act in the purchase of the Evening Mail with Edward A. Rumely. Their sentence was a year and a day in Atlanta, but President Coolidge commuted this to one month, which they served in Westchester.

**Truman H. Newberry**—In the Michigan primary election, August 27, 1918, Truman H. Newberry, former Secretary of the Navy, defeated Henry Ford and others for the Republican nomination for Senator, and on November 5, was elected to the U. S. Senate, again defeating Henry Ford, who was then running on the Democratic ticket. The Newberry committee admitted spending \$178,000 on the campaign, and Newberry was convicted of violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, the sentence being two years in the penitentiary and a \$10,000 fine. The case was taken on appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court which, by a 5 to 4 decision, May 22, 1921, held that Congress had no power to pass a law regulating Senatorial primary elections and, therefore, the Corrupt Practices Act was unconstitutional.

On January 12, 1922, the Senate adopted a resolution in which they condemned the expenditure, said by them to be \$195,000, as too large, "contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the honor and dignity of the Senate and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free government." The Senate voted 46 to 41 that Newberry could retain his seat, having been duly elected for a term of six years from March 4, 1919. Charles Evans Hughes was Newberry's counsel. Newberry later resigned from the Senate.

### Woman's Inequality

Our state laws, with one or two exceptions, are based upon the old English Common Law, or still reflect the attitude of the Napoleonic code, classifying women as inferior beings.

There is not a single state in the Union in which men and women live under equal protection of the law. In most states, the residence of the husband is the residence of the wife. There is no state in which a wife may collect for services performed in her own home. She is entitled to support by her husband but the extent of that support is entirely in his hands. In most states, when a married woman is injured, her husband recovers damages for loss of her services; and in six states—Arizona, California, Georgia, Louisiana, New Mexico and Washington—the earnings of the wife outside of the home belong to the husband. Thirty states still deny mothers equal rights to the earnings and services of the children. In Georgia and Maryland the father can will away the custody of the child, born or unborn, from the mother. In five states fathers are preferred to mothers in inheriting from a deceased child. In less than fifteen states is prostitution a crime for the male as well as the female. More than half the states do not permit women to serve on juries.

In certain states the laws discriminate against women as students in universities, deny the right of contract, or control of property, or conduct of business in or out of the home. Laws concerning the administration of estates discriminate against women, as does the apprentice law. A married woman can not always sue in her own right, and occasionally a widow's share in community property is less than a widower's share.

Although the law gives the father greater rights than the mother over the legitimate child, it places the responsibility for the illegitimate child upon the mother. In Idaho, Virginia and Texas there are no laws by which the unmarried mother may demand aid from the father for the support of the child. In some states the wife has not the same rights to the chastity of the husband as he has to the chastity of his wife.

Women teachers are paid less than men for the same work in some states, and marriage debars a woman from many schools. In Iowa, male citizens only may be members of the legislature. An American woman loses her citizenship when married to a foreigner after 2 to 5 years residence abroad; or if married to an

alien ineligible for citizenship, she loses her citizenship, whereas a married man does not.

To sum up, there are fifty ways in which the laws hold women to be inferior—in which women are discriminated against solely on account of sex.

Information from Consuelo Furman and the National Woman's Party.

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### Miscellaneous

**Senator Couzens**—After Senator Couzens criticized the Treasury Department, in 1925, for its allowance to wealthy corporations of \$562,000,000 amortization claims, and for abating the \$9,000,000 tax due from the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies Steamship Co. of \$2,600,000 on the ground that the legal tax would bankrupt the company, he was assessed an additional income tax of \$10,861,131 for 1919. This in spite of the fact that he had taken the precaution of consulting the Commissioner of Internal Revenue regarding his return for 1919 and had listed his profit on the sale of Ford Motor Company stock as advised by that official.

**President Coolidge**—When Congress passed a law raising the pay of postal clerks from \$1,400-\$1,700 to \$1,700-\$2,000, President Coolidge vetoed it on the ground of economy, but when Congress raised the pay of its members from \$7,500 to \$10,000 a year soon thereafter, the President signed the bill, though most of the Congressmen had other sources of income while the postal clerks had not.

When Congress passed another bill providing for increased postage rates to pay for the raise in clerk's salaries, President Coolidge signed it.

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Indifference to the law by the upper classes who wish to enforce the law against the lower classes is shown by the address of Attorney General Sargent on April 24, 1925:

"As I go about among people of refinement, of wealth, of power, I, from time to time, hear things said which show me there is a lack of thought, of consideration and realization of whither leads this view, this notion, that a law of the land, made by and for all, is not binding upon the consciences of those who have the means and the desire to violate it in private. It leads toward anarchy."

On May 12, 1925, the disclosure was made that many rich men in New York City were granted Police Department automobile license plates in order that they might drive as they chose and be saluted by the traffic officers. Judge Elbert H. Gary, George F. Baker, T. Coleman Du Pont and LeRoy Baldwin were among the bankers, millionaires and corporation heads having no connection with the Police Department who were so distinguished from ordinary citizens.

The poor are obliged to pay more for coal and some other commodities because of lack of storage space and ready cash.

Small savings are usually deposited in savings banks where the interest is 4 per cent, while large investments produce 5 to 8 per cent. Only the rich gain the advantage from financial manipulation.

Interest due from foreign countries is paid on loans from private bankers, but often not on prior loans made by our Government, representing the people.

The poor man is called by his first name; the rich man must be called "Mr." They attend different churches, different schools, different clubs and are generally recognized as separate classes.

Salaries are paid during vacations or illnesses; wages are not paid except for the actual days worked. Laborers often have to stand in line an hour or more to receive their pay.

### **Newspaper Bias**

The inability to ascertain facts is one of the most disillusioning discoveries of the people. Accidental errors are of comparatively small importance, for, if a serious mistake has been made it is speedily corrected. The intentional coloration or misrepresentation of news is the cause of discontent, and, like all such causes, is strenuously denied by the chief perpetrators.

Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of the New York Times, said that "so far as the Associated Press organization is concerned, every news story is carefully scrutinized with the sole view of giving unbiased information to the public." And for his own paper he claimed that it "tolerates no tampering with the news, no coloring, no deception" and that it has obtained a high reputation "for the fullness, trustworthiness, and impartiality of its news service."

Melville E. Stone, former general manager of the Associated Press, challenged "anyone to prove that the news service had ever declined to correct an error of its own making."

Dr. J. W. Cunliffe, Director of the School of Journalism of Columbia University, said in his annual report which was made public by President Nicholas Murray Butler on August 23, 1924: "If the conception of a newspaper as a private business enterprise should become universal and it should no longer be regarded as a public trust, I do not see how democratic government is to be carried on."

On the other hand, every careful observer has noticed discrepancies in the newspaper accounts of events with which he is familiar, often merely changes to make a good story, but frequently misrepresentations to color the news to suit the owners or advertisers or readers of our daily papers.

The Interchurch World Movement reported regarding the steel strike of 1919: "Most newspapers, traditionally hesitant in reporting industrial matters, failed notably to acquaint the public with the facts, failed to take steps necessary to obtain the facts . . . giving biased and colored news."

The Associated Press, which is owned by 1,198 newspapers, retained as one of its directors John R. Rathom, of the Providence Journal, after he confessed that the stories he wrote of German atrocities were manufactured in his office. The Boston Herald declared that those stories, though false, were justifiable.

Here is an extract from "Some Newspapers and Newspaper Men," by Oswald Garrison Villard.

"The *Times* is no more independent than it is swayed by a desire to be just. It is a class paper, pure and simple, as much so as the *Call*, or any labor journal. Its news can pass only the quantitative and no qualitative test. No journal has exceeded it in disseminating falsehoods, misrepresentations, and half truths during the unparalled era of wholesale lying in which the whole world has lived since 1914. Just how shameless, for instance, it has been in its treatment of Russian news has been repeatedly set forth both by *The Nation* and the *New Republic* without any refutation. . . Mr. Ochs is, with one exception, probably the most influential director in the Associated Press and could, if he tried to, stop the kind of reporting which made his newspaper relate within a comparatively brief period that Petrograd had fallen six times, been on the verge of capture three times more, been burned to the ground twice, been in absolute panic twice and in revolt against the Bolsheviks on six different occasions—all without the slightest foundation in fact."



"Take the case of Jane Addams for one. With what abuse did not the *Times* cover her, one of the noblest of our women, because she told the simple truth that the Allied troops were often given liquor or drugs before charging across No Man's Land? Yet when the facts came out at the hands of Sir Philip Gibbs and others not one word of apology was ever forthcoming." . . . "Before the god of wealth the *Times* ever bows down. It has even said, with almost incredible callousness and heartlessness, that 'a certain degree of unemployment is curative of many social disorders. It is the argument to the stomach which becomes necessary when the appeal to reason and industrial morality fails.'"

**The La Follette Case**—On September 20, 1917, at St. Paul, Senator La Follette made a speech regarding progressive policies and aid to the farmers. Answering a questioner he said: "For my own part I was not in favor of beginning the war. I don't mean to say that we hadn't suffered grievances; we had—at the hands of Germany. Serious grievances."

The Associated Press reported the speech to over 1,200 newspapers as follows: "I wasn't in favor of beginning the war. We had no grievances."

Though La Follette denounced the report as false, no prominence was given to his correction. A resolution was adopted by the Minnesota Public Safety Commission asking his expulsion from the Senate, and he suffered greatly from the deliberate falsification. Eight months later the Associated Press apologized: "The error was regrettable and the Associated Press seizes the first opportunity to do justice to Senator La Follette."

For 14 months Senator La Follette's seat in the Senate was in doubt but he was finally voted \$5,000 to cover the expenses of his defense. The misstatement about him was given far greater prominence than his exoneration by the Senate.

**News of Russia**—So many errors appeared in the New York Times that the New Republic issued a special supplement detailing them, August 4, 1920.

In September, 1922, the Times reported the number of people massacred by the Cheka as 1,766,118, but on September 14, 1923, without any comment concerning its previous statements, it published a special cable report: "In point of fact it is doubtful whether the total number of 'Cheka' executions throughout the whole period up to 1922 surpasses 50,000 . . . one put it as low as 20,000."

When the Bolsheviki made public the secret treaties that proved so important in the final peace settlement, practically the only paper to publish them was the N. Y. Evening Post.

On August 2, 1921, the Chicago Tribune printed a photograph of supposed rioting that week in Moscow. This was the identical picture they had printed on November 4, 1917, representing real rioting in Petrograd.

On December 24, 1919, the N. Y. Times' headlines ran: "Lenin selling jewels for red propaganda—Gems sent through Germany to Dutch markets—Czar's diamonds offered." And on October 1, 1920: "Russian crown pearls offered in Berlin; jewelry identified by Czar's crest." And on January 20, 1921: "Dead Czar's gems brought to America—Crown jewels sold by Soviet Government may be put on New York market." And on January 16, 1922: "Russian crown jewels pledged to Stinnes; pawned for 60 per cent of value, Berlin hears." The Herald, Tribune and Sun ran similar articles from time to time, but after these repeated reported disposals of the jewels, the Times printed in its rotogravure section on September 17, 1922, a photograph of the same gems still in Russia, the caption being: "Gems valued at 'sixty billion dollars,' crown jewels of the late Czar and Czarina of Russia, now in the hands of the Soviet Government in Moscow."

### **Distortion of Actual Conditions**

In 1921, the New York Evening Mail gave at length the details of a family with radical tendencies. The father was a barber and the mother worked in a sweat shop and they paid only \$21 a month rent, but the Mail stated that the family earned jointly \$8,880 a year. The Sons of the Revolution reprinted the article in leaflet form for distribution among its members to show that there was no real reason for discontent.

A prominent steel company's bulletin published the salaries of two individual labor union organizers as \$90 and \$66 a day instead of the actual \$8 and \$4 that was paid by the union.

When Secretary of the Treasury Mellon proposed, late in 1923, a reduction of income taxes which would affect directly only the 7,000,000 wealthiest people, the great dailies carried the following headings: "It is a campaign for the welfare of the 7,000,000 wage earners." "It will save \$100 for each family." "A ray of sunshine in nearly half the homes of the United States."

In hundreds of cases the news that meets the approval of the editors is featured while occurrences of equal importance are buried. A few such cases are here given:

On November 17, 1919, the New York Times published on the front page under a conspicuous headline an account of a posse of 40 men who were hunting for the I.W.W. fugitives who had killed John Haney near Centralia, Washington. On November 18, on the third page with practically no heading, was an explanation that Haney had been killed by an accidental fire from his own men, not by the I.W.W.

When there was a scuffle between Alexander Bannwart and Senator Lodge on April 2, 1917, the papers gave great prominence to the attack upon the Senator by a pacifist, but when, two years later, Senator Lodge was forced by legal proceedings to admit that it was he who had struck the first blow, the correction was inconspicuously placed.

Here is an experience of Amos Pinchot.

"Some years ago the editor of the then largest monthly magazine asked me to write an article on government ownership. I agreed and, after a few months, the article was finished and turned in. The editors were kind enough to express their satisfaction and went so far as to say that it was the most important economic article their magazine had printed. The article was set up and the magazine went to press, when a message arrived from the owner advising the editor that the article must not appear, no matter what it cost to break the plates. Immediately, the editor telephoned me, explaining that, though he would be glad to pay for it, he could not use my article, which dealt, among other things, with the relation between private railroading and the steel monopoly. The editor explained that the owner's father had been a close friend of Mr. Morgan, Sr. The owner himself was heavily interested in various monopolies."

When Theodore Roosevelt became unpopular for his trust-busting, the New York Herald would not permit the mention of his name in its columns.

Upton Sinclair wrote "The Brass Check," a book upon American journalism, from which extracts are here given:

"The presidents of our biggest railroads appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission to tell of the ruin which was

threatened unless the increase were granted (in rates, in 1914. Mr. Thorne, a member of the State Railway Commission of Iowa, appeared). He showed that in twelve years the capitalization of the roads had been increased ninety-two per cent, and their dividends increased three hundred and fifty-nine per cent. In the year 1912 their dividends had been the greatest in history. In 1910 the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore & Ohio and the New York Central had assured the Interstate Commerce Commission that they could not borrow money, yet in two years they had borrowed five hundred million dollars! . . . And what do you think the newspapers did with this most sensational incident? I take the facts from Charles Edward Russell as follows: 'The New York World gave nearly a column to the testimony of the railroad presidents, and said not a word about Mr. Thorne! The Philadelphia Public Ledger and the Baltimore Sun did the same; the Cincinnati Inquirer gave half a column without mentioning Thorne, and the Chicago Herald the same.' (This clipping marked 'By the Associated Press.')

"All papers have a rule that if any Socialist gets into trouble, it shall be exploited to the full; when Socialists don't get into trouble often enough to suit them, they make Socialists out of people who get into trouble. Says Max Sherover: 'When the King of Greece was shot by an insane and irresponsible man, the "New York Times" and hundreds of other papers ran the headline: "King of Greece Assassinated by a Socialist." And although it was proven conclusively that the assassin hadn't even heard of Socialism, none of these papers saw fit to retract their lie.'

"When the great novelist, David Graham Phillips, was shot by one Goldsborough, every paper in New York knew that Goldsborough not only was not a Socialist, but had often spoken against Socialism. They also knew that the latter had a personal grievance against the author. Notwithstanding these facts, the 'New York World' and other papers came out with headlines: 'David Graham Phillips Shot by Socialist.' None of the papers retracted that lie.

"When Theodore Roosevelt was shot at in Milwaukee, the Associated Press sent broadcast the news that a Socialist had assaulted the Colonel. Though it was proven by the evidence of the assailant's own statement that he was an affiliated member of a Democratic organization in New York, that he had always voted the Democratic ticket, the 'New York Evening Telegram'

ran the headline: 'Roosevelt Shot by Socialist.' This the 'Telegram' never retracted.

"It would not be too much to say that American capitalist newspapers sent Eugene V. Debs to jail in 1893 and made him into a Socialist. And now, in 1919, when he is sent to jail again, they help to keep him there! On the day that he is sent to prison, they spread wide an interview to the effect that he will call a general strike of labor to get himself out of jail; and this interview is quoted by the Attorney-General as reason for refusing amnesty to Debs. But Debs gave no such interview. He denied it as soon as he saw it, but of course you did not see the denial, unless you are a reader of the Socialist papers. (Page 328.)

"The United States Government is deporting Hindu revolutionists to be executed by the British Government when they reach India. Prof. Richard Gottheil of Columbia University writes to the 'New York Times' denying that this is so. Robert Morss Lovett, editor of 'The Dial,' writes to the 'Times,' citing case after case, upon British official authority, and the 'Times' refuses to print Mr. Lovett's letter! A friend of mine writes to Prof. Gottheil about it and he answers that he wishes the 'Times' would print Mr. Lovett's letter, because he believes in fair play. But the 'Times' does not believe in fair play.'"

When the New York Herald published two fictitious interviews regarding Upton Sinclair, he started libel suits and collected \$2,500. (Page 189.)

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The newspapers do not always use their power for the best ends. Senator Owen said: "Through this agency the people of Germany, France and Russia were taught to hate each other."

In 1855, Richard Cobden held the London Times responsible for the Crimean War: "If it can now be shown how greatly it is responsible for the expedition which every rational man now in his heart condemns, it will much impair the force of its war advocacy in future."

In 1898, Frederic Remington cabled to the New York Journal from Cuba: "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. I wish to return." The reply he received from his editor read: "Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."



The New York Evening Post, on August 1, 1924, stated: "Our own war with Spain seemed to be waged by and for the newspapers."

When the Smithsonian Museum issued, in February, 1925, an attack upon the Ontario experiment in the public control of hydro-electric power, the press devoted considerable attention editorially and otherwise to the report, but when Sir Adam Beck, in behalf of the Ontario Commission, refuted the charges and sent copies to the papers, almost all of them disregarded the correction. They would not publish the facts concerning the saving to Canadians from public ownership.

When the financial pages report "Labor conditions are better," they mean better for the employers—labor can be hired for lower wages.

The impression is gained from the press that combinations of capital are attacked by our laws while labor organizations are favored. Actually, capital may combine more freely than labor. For instance, Judge Gary told the stockholders of the U. S. Steel Corporation that their property was worth a billion dollars more than when the combination was made, in addition to dividends on watered stock, whereas he has refused to deal with organized labor.

## Chapter VI

### WAR BREEDS INJUSTICE

War as practiced in our time is an attempt to settle disputes between States by resort to organized violence. Its instruments are armed military forces operating on land, sea and air; its means are the systematic destruction of life and property; its end is the unrestrained imposition of the will of the victor upon the vanquished.\*

The status of war today presents a paradox unparalleled in history.

On the one hand, war stands condemned by the wellnigh universal judgment of mankind. At the best, it is regarded as a necessary or unavoidable evil, like a cataclysm of nature; at the worst, as a moral abomination, like murder. It is a mad release of animal passion from which man collectively has not yet escaped, or to which on occasion he reverts. In either case, it has no place within man's true or better life. From the standpoint alike of ethics and religion, war is wrong. Nothing can be said in its justification, little in extenuation of its processes.\*\*

Even from the crassly practical point of view, there is nothing to be said for war. It wastes everything man has saved; it ruins everything he has builded. Its outward havoc is equalled only by its inward demoralization. Whatever little good it may achieve is incidental to the enormous evil it consummates. And today, when war has suddenly become so universally and completely destructive, its certain doom of civilization overbears every other consideration. Man must now get rid of war, or else war will speedily get rid of him!

This is one aspect of the paradox above referred to. On the other hand is the fact that war, thus morally condemned, is at the same time legally recognized. Like marriage, religion, or the state, war is an institution regulated, protected, and vindicated by the laws of nations. Such international law as we have, in other words, establishes war as the accepted method of settling disputes when all other methods, such as negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration, have failed. It sets up war, as the United States Constitution sets up the Supreme Court, as the tribunal of last resort!

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\* See Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page's "The Abolition of War," Chapter II, page 26.

\*\* See Bertrand Russell's "Justice in War Time," page 20; also G. F. Nicolai's "The Biology of War," chapter XI, page 379.

This international law regulates war; *i.e.*, lays down the conditions under which it may be properly conducted. It defines how war may be declared, what weapons may be used, what cruelties must be proscribed, by what armistice arrangements and treaty agreements it may be ended. This international law also safeguards war; *i.e.*, protects it from interference. When two nations, for example, go to war, all other nations not concerned in the quarrel must declare their neutrality. They must get out of the way, in other words, so that the field may be clear for the belligerents. The prime function of international law is thus to set up an arena in which nations may fight out their differences, and establish the rules and regulations under which the conflict shall be conducted. Whenever a nation, for reasons satisfactory to itself, however selfish, makes up its mind to go to war, international law affirms that it has a right thus to disturb the peace and order of the world, and must be protected in this right. "Why didn't the Allies punish the Kaiser after the late war?" asks Senator Borah, offering a specific instance of this fact. "It was simply because he had committed no crime," continues the Senator, in answer to his inquiry. "There never was such a crime as starting a war. If today another war should envelop the world, the person responsible for it would be guilty of no criminal act."\*

Such is the paradox of modern war!—an institution morally condemned but legally approved! Despite the conscience of the race, our international society is a war society—a world organized, directed and maintained to ends of war and not of peace. Peace is itself but an interval between wars—a period when war is in a suspended state of animation, so to speak. For our armaments, our diplomacy, our alliances and balances of power, what are they all but just so many latent expressions of belligerent energy destined sooner or later to burst forth into action?

It is this paradox which constitutes the crux of our present problem. Such a contradiction between moral judgment and legal status must be resolved if war is ever to be abolished. The organization of man's social life, in other words, must be brought into accord with his reason and his conscience. War, like other vast evils which have preceded it—infanticide, chattel slavery, piracy, duelling—must be *outlawed*. Upon this next step waits,

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\* See New York "Times," May 19, 1925, page 4.

and must ever wait, all other requisite measures of reform. When war has been banned as a crime as well as condemned as an evil, it will then be possible on the one hand to end the psychological causes of war by education and the economic and political causes by drastic social reconstruction, and on the other hand to provide and sustain that common law, that common system of judicial settlement of disputes under this law, that common transport control, that common guarantee of disarmament and mutual defense, that common recognition of world wide brotherhood, upon which the achievement of ultimate and permanent peace depends.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

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With the exception of a few militarists who insist that war keeps a nation virile, everyone considers war one of the chief defects in modern civilization.

The losses include the death and crippling of the strongest young men in each country, the death and poverty of millions of civilians, the creation of hate and fear between peoples, tax burdens upon several generations, moral losses from the destructive spirit, the deceptive war propaganda of governments and the enactment of laws abridging freedom of expression. As ex-Premier Nitti of Italy said, "The losses in human life and property, great as they are, are small evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization."

The World War failed to end war. The desire for revenge and restitution remains.

See "War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure," by Kirby Page.

The working class sees the futility of war so far as its own welfare is concerned. The acquisition of territory by the victor and the destruction of the trade and military prowess of the enemy bring no noticeable advantage to the worker. And the chance of victory is only one out of three, for the result of armed conflict may be a draw or defeat. A combination of powers may destroy the greatest military machine for the maintenance of which the people have been taxed for a generation.

War as a cause of discontent among the working classes is increasing. There is a growing impression that the powerful interests in each country utilize military operations to subdue

class consciousness, and are therefore somewhat reconciled to an occasional conflict that will readjust labor conditions.

Confirmation of this idea is found in the remarks of William B. Shearer, in December, 1924, which found ready acceptance with the National Security League and many prominent citizens. "Owing to their socialistic troubles the Japanese consider the only way to answer these struggles is a big foreign war." If labor unrest is regarded as sufficient reason for fearing a declaration of war in one country, it may be listed among the possible causes of war the world over.

That lives were conscripted and not wealth, that soldiers who went to the front earned only their living while those who stayed at home reaped a harvest of profits; that the Government seized the opportunity to imprison labor agitators on the plea they were obstructing the war, continuing the oppression long after hostilities were over; that constitutional guarantees of free speech, free press and assemblage were discontinued and the Espionage Act not repealed but merely held in abeyance until war again appears on the horizon; that the working classes were lauded to the skies when needed as fighters and on their return reduced to their former social and financial status; that false statements and propaganda were spread by each government to induce men to fight for a righteous cause on either side, though secret treaties had been made for a division of the spoils; that a peace was made contrary to the dictates of humanity and without reference to the real causes of war—all these more or less valid reasons aroused a spirit of resentment against the system of government that valued property rights above human rights.

While war is detested, it is considered inevitable by conservatives, who are unwilling to study the true causes of dissension which appear clear to radicals. When the causes of war have been universally admitted, it will be easier to find a remedy.

### CAUSES OF WAR

The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War meeting at Washington in January, 1925, announced the following as among the Causes of War:

1—Psychological: Fear, feeling of national insecurity; fear of invasion; fear of loss of property; fear of change; suspicion; greed; lust of power; hate; revenge; jealousy; envy.



2—Economic: Aggressive imperialism; territorial; economic rivalries for markets; energy resources; essential raw materials; government protection of private interests abroad without reference to the general welfare. Disregard of the rights of backward peoples. Population pressure; inequalities of access to resources; customs barriers; migration barriers. Profits in war.

3—Political: Principle of balance of power; secret treaties; unjust treaties; violation of treaties; disregard of rights of minorities; organization of the state for war; ineffective or obstructive political machinery.

4—Social and contributory: Exaggerated nationalism; competitive armaments; religious and racial antagonisms; general apathy, indifference and ignorance; war psychology created through various agencies (the press, motion pictures; textbooks; home influences). Social inequalities; social sanctions of war; lack of spiritual ideals.

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In the following analysis of five of the principal causes of war, the record of the United States is referred to, not because it has been as guilty as the older nations, but because this is a book dealing exclusively with America. It is important that patriots should realize to what extent the danger of future war has been incurred by the acts of our government that have aroused the dislike and fear of many countries. A full appreciation of these facts may prevent the continuance of certain unwise international policies that have caused discontent among our own idealistic citizens.

### **Lack of International Law**

The world is now closely united and yet has not adopted a written code of international law, nor agreed upon a method of settling disputes. All civilized nations have such a code for their own internal government and the danger of war will be minimized when international law has been codified and a court of last resort adopted universally. See Outlawry of War, in index.

### **Secret Diplomacy**

The custom has prevailed among diplomats of making treaties without the knowledge of the parliaments of the coun-

tries concerned, nor has it been possible for the people of any country to know the alliances to which they may be committed. Francis Neilson, a member of the British Parliament in 1911, says that a secret agreement existed by which England was obligated to aid France in the event of a war with Germany, but the Foreign Office denied the agreement. On July 30, 1914, President Poincaré told the British Ambassador at Paris: "If his majesty's government announced that England would come to the aid of France in the event of a conflict between France and Germany as a result of the present differences between Austria and Serbia, there would be no war." Secret diplomacy did not permit this announcement.

When the Bolsheviki revealed the secret treaties made by England, France, Italy and Russia that so strongly influenced the peace treaty, it was considered a disloyal act. About the only newspaper in the United States to publish them was the New York Evening Post. President Wilson said he was ignorant of them when he arrived at Versailles. These treaties were concerned with the transference of territory from the enemy states to the Allies, disproving the altruistic aims advanced by each country's statesmen at that time.

At the Peace Conference the proposition of "Open covenants openly arrived at" was discarded in favor of secret diplomacy.

Our people were not informed for several years of the loan of \$187,000,000 to Kerensky's Russian government, and the payment of \$59,000,000 to Boris Bakhmeteff after the government he represented was non-existent.

In 1917 an agreement was made in secret between the United States and Japan to recognize interests of Japan in China. This Lansing-Ishii declaration of policy was cancelled in April, 1923. (See "How Diplomats Make War," by Francis Neilson.)

The Nation for July 26, 1919, contains an article by an expert on international law in the service of the Government, in which it is claimed that the United States has frequently made treaties, or "notes" of almost equal import without ratification by the Senate as should have been done.

The Nation stated editorially on November 1, 1919: "Over the signature of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, we pledged the nation's honor to the Germans and their allies to make

peace upon the Fourteen Points and then in Paris forgot them, flung them away, acted as if they had never been. It is the same Mr. Lansing who has testified publicly that after his arrival in Paris as peace commissioner, he never heard the Fourteen Points mentioned. We are aware that to many of our fellow-citizens this seems a smart Yankee trick; that there are many who say that all is fair in love, war, and armistices; that the miserable, deceitful Huns got what they deserved. That may or may not be true. Nevertheless our love for our country is so great, our devotion to her honor so ingrained from our earliest breath that there is no alternative left to us but to protest with all the power and earnestness that we can command against any attempt at her dishonor."

### Infraction of Treaties

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement made in 1907, the Japanese government undertook to issue passports to the U. S. only to non-laborers, or to laborers returning to resume a previously acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife or children residing in the United States, or to assume control of a previously acquired farming interest. The Japanese lived up to this agreement, but, in 1924, our Congress passed the Exclusion Act, although the number of Japanese men in the United States had actually decreased 22,737 between 1909 and 1923, the number of women only increasing.

Frederick J. Libby considers the Japanese exclusion an infraction of our treaties, basing his contention on the statements of Secretary of State Hughes, February 8, 1924: "It is apparent that Section 12, sub-division (b) taken in connection with sections 3 and 4 of the proposed measure, operates to exclude Japanese. This is inconsistent with the provision of the Treaty of 1911 above mentioned, and with respect to those defined as immigrants who do not come within the Treaty, it established a statutory exclusion. In my opinion the restrictions of the measure, in view of their application under the definition of 'immigrant', are in conflict with Treaty provisions . . . and the right established by a Treaty cannot be cut down without a violation of the Treaty so long as it is maintained in force."

The same interpretation of the Gentlemen's Agreement is given in an editorial in the "Washington Post" May 9, 1924, entitled, "A Court Proposal." "The Root-Takihira agreement

between the United States and Japan is in essence a Treaty. Congress has voted to abrogate it without consulting Japan. President Coolidge is endeavoring to have the Immigration Bill modified so that he may bring about abrogation of the agreement with the consent of Japan."

Lucia Ames Mead said: "In absolutely excluding Chinese, Congress contravened the treaty which says the United States may 'suspend' 'but may not absolutely prohibit' Chinese labor immigration. Said Judge Field, 'it must be conceded that the act of 1888 is in contravention of the treaty of 1880 but it is not on that account invalid.' Dr. Bernhard Dernberg justified Germany's breaking of the treaty of neutrality with Belgium, arguing that the United States takes the same attitude as to treaties as does Germany and cited this decision regarding China."

The disregard by Germany of the treaty guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality brought into prominence the infraction of treaties as a cause of war. Experience has shown that the word of a nation has often been lightly held, or interpreted faithlessly at critical times.

John Bigelow, formerly Major in the U. S. Army, writes on page 183 of "Breaches of Anglo-American Treaties"; "Now to sum up and balance the accounts of the treaty-violations committed by Great Britain and the United States against each other. During the one hundred and thirty years between 1783 and 1913, about thirty separate and distinct compacts that may be considered as treaties were concluded between the two Powers. Of these thirty treaties, the following eight (about one in four) were violated by Great Britain, several of them in more than one particular (then follows the list). Of these treaties the first, second, fourth and fifth may be regarded as violated also by the United States, but with the possible exception of the fifth only after violation by Great Britain. No treaty between Great Britain and the United States appears to have been violated by the United States alone."

In the preface, Major Bigelow quotes Sir Harry Johnston, a British author: "Treaties in fact bind the policy of the United States as long as they are convenient. They are not really worth the labor their negotiation entails or the paper they are written on."

Archibald R. Watson, New York attorney, said, on April 16, 1919: "There is no provision of the Constitution that no action by Congress shall violate a treaty previously made, and it is certain that Congressional action has violated the express terms of the treaty obligations of this nation more than once, if not many times."

The report of Attorney-General Palmer contains the following, on page 43: "May a subject of a neutral country be drafted into the military service when the treaty between his country and this country provides to the contrary? Our courts have unanimously held that the selective service act supplants all previously existing treaty provisions on the subject."

The Prussian-American treaty of 1785, reaffirmed in treaties executed in 1799 and 1828, contained the following paragraphs:

"If war should arise between the two contracting parties the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs and may depart freely carrying all of their effects without molestation or hindrance.

"And it is declared that neither the pretense that the war dissolves all treaties nor any other whatsoever shall be considered as annulling this and the next preceding articles but, on the contrary, that a state of war is precisely that for which they are provided and during which they are to be sacredly observed as the most acknowledged articles in the law of nature or nations."

Under the Trading with the Enemy Act an Alien Property Custodian was appointed to "preserve enemy owned property in the U. S. from loss and to prevent every use of it which may be hostile and detrimental. . . there is no thought of a confiscation or dissipation of property thus held in trust." In March, 1918, President Wilson reluctantly agreed to an amendment which would confiscate the industrial properties of Germans, amounting, according to Custodian Palmer, to \$800,000,000. Germany had not confiscated property of alien citizens at the time, nor had the practice of seizing private property to insure collection of a claim against a government been customary among civilized countries.

Forty-five hundred German patents worth several million dollars were sold for \$271,000 at private sale to the Chemical Foundation, of which F. P. Garvan, Alien Property Custodian



after Palmer, became president. One excuse given for this was that the Germans had controlled the dye industry that America needed.

Custodian Palmer sold the Bosch Magneto property to his friend, Martin E. Kern, whose picture is in the New York *Rogue's* gallery. Hornblower and Weeks made about \$1,000,000 out of the transaction before Mr. Weeks became Secretary of War.

In March, 1923, all trusts not exceeding \$10,000 were returned, but the court refused to permit cancellation of the sale to the Chemical Foundation, as desired by the Republican administration. In February, 1925, Senator Borah proposed restoring the \$350,000,000 of German property still retained. The attorneys who audited the accounts of the Alien Property Custodian charged \$173,757.50, eliciting the comment from President Harding: "To the man in Main Street these fees seem outrageous."

In August, 1924, Yei Ling, member of the Chinese Senate, addressed a note to our Government containing the following request for fair treatment: "All those unequal and unfair treaties which your Government has forced on China should be abrogated at once and in their place treaties of equality and reciprocity should be concluded. The legation quarter in Peking, together with all foreign settlements and concessions in the different treaty ports should be returned to China; all extra-territorial courts abolished; all indemnities which China is still forced to pay waived; the customs and postal administrations handed over to Chinese management; foreign troops and gunboats withdrawn at once. . . ."

The Treaties forced upon China above referred to offset the remitting of \$10,000,000 of the \$24,000,000 Boxer indemnity that so endeared us to the Chinese. The United States is now constructing special gunboats for use in Chinese waters.

### **Economic Imperialism**

The powerful nations have been and still are engaged in a bitter rivalry for colonies, spheres of influence and markets. Before the World War, France had acquired 4,086,950 square miles in Africa and 247,580 square miles in Asia. Great Britain had acquired 3,701,411 square miles in Africa and 1,998,220 square miles in Asia. Germany had acquired 910,150 square

miles in Africa and 193 square miles in Asia. These countries, with Japan and Russia, had also seized rights in China, by force and threats, consisting of treaty ports, control of railways, customs and taxes, war zones, etc. Former President Woodrow Wilson said, on September 5, 1919, in partial corroboration of the economic explanation of war:

"Is there any man here or woman—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? . . . This was an industrial and commercial war."

### AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

"No nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation, but every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened and unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."—Woodrow Wilson.

The Protectionist for January, 1920, expressed Republican antipathy to the self-determination of other nations and satisfaction with our own innocence: "America, says the New York Sun, has repudiated nothing, broken no pledges, explicit or implied, changed no policy, departed from no national tradition. America has stood firm for its national sovereignty, for its independence, for its unqualified freedom. America has remained true to Washington, to Jefferson, to Monroe, to Lincoln, to Roosevelt. America was never behind the novelties of statecraft Woodrow Wilson endeavored to impose upon the nation."

The general opinion was exemplified by banker Otto H. Kahn at a public dinner in January, 1925, when he said that he had never encountered an instance of American imperialism. Therefore, for the sake of enlightenment, it is important to examine the methods by which the United States acquired its territory.

After driving the Indians into cramped quarters, and withholding full franchise rights until 1924, our additional territory was acquired by purchase or as the result of military operations:

1845 and 1848, cessions of Texas and other territory from Mexico, the war being condemned even by General Grant.

1898, annexation of Hawaii, after our minister, Mr. Stevens, had encouraged a revolution there.

1898, capture of Guam by the U. S. S. Charleston.

1898, Porto Rico conquered in the Spanish War.

1898, the Philippines conquered by our fleet. We paid Spain \$20,000,000 later.

1899, Samoa bombarded and captured.

1904, Panama—revolution followed by immediate recognition.

1917, Danish West Indies bought without the consent of the inhabitants and name changed to Virgin Islands. The natives demanded their independence and have protested against the rule of the United States.

The details of several of the negotiations with our neighbors explain the imperialistic reputation we have acquired abroad.

The United States is in practical control of several countries not included in its territory. This control always arouses resentment and enmity among the natives, though their officials may approve it.

**Cuba**, where the U. S. has a navy base, with the threat of intervention always held over the Cuban Government, which can make no loan or dispose of any territory without the consent of the United States.

**Haiti**, where 2,000 U. S. marines direct and "protect" the Haitian Government, elected under their supervision; where an American financial adviser exercises absolute control over finances.

**Santo Domingo**, where the United States landed an army, dismissed the president and congress and ruled for seven years.

**Nicaragua**, where we have maintained 100 marines since 1912, keeping in control a government favorable to American bankers.

**Honduras**, where the American minister and two American corporations have long been the controlling powers and where marines have landed.

Next we come to the countries where North American financial advisers directing the fiscal policy of the governments have not yet brought military forces—Salvador, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia.

There are three other countries where American bankers control the business—Guatemala, Costa Rica and Mexico.

See article on "Imperialistic America," by Samuel Guy Inman in the Atlantic Monthly for July, 1924.

## Haiti

Twenty-four lawyers investigated the seizure of Haiti, and these extracts are from a pamphlet containing their report published by the Foreign Policy Association. See also U. S. Senate hearings Oct. 4 to Nov. 26, 1921.

From 1804 to 1915 Haiti was a sovereign state and became a signatory to the Hague convention. After repeated offers of control of the Haitian customs had been rejected, a force of American marines was landed on December 17, 1914, without preliminary warning, at Port au Prince from the U. S. *Machias*. These marines seized and carried away \$500,000 from the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti belonging to the Government of Haiti. The money was taken to New York and no explanation given in response to Haiti's protests. In March and May, 1915, negotiations for military control came to nothing, but during revolutionary activities in July Admiral Caperton seized the ports and towns of the republic and sent messages to our Navy Department that he had acquired control.

The United States assured the Haitian people that the only object in view was to assure Haitian independence and establish a stable government. A treaty was drawn up and while under consideration, Admiral Caperton was instructed to take charge of the ten principal custom houses in Haiti, and for several months our naval officers collected all customs dues and made all disbursements, leaving the Haitian government without income.

Haiti protested vehemently but no explanation was ever offered by the Government of the United States. On September 3, 1915, Admiral Caperton declared martial law in Port au Prince. The treaty was finally signed by the Haitian Government on September 16, 1915, and by the United States in May, 1916. The United States seized a consignment of unsigned bank notes and otherwise deprived Haiti of funds until the treaty was ratified by the Chamber of Deputies, which was done on October 6, 1915. In order to get the Senate to ratify, Secretary of the Navy Daniels threatened to "retain control in Haiti until desired end is accomplished."

The treaty was not adhered to by the United States and the people of Haiti demanded its abrogation.

### **The Philippines**

The government of the islands has repeatedly demanded their freedom, especially on the ground that the United States Congress passed the Jones Act, August 29, 1916, which states: "It has always been the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison declared that the natives were capable of governing themselves and should be set free. Our Government has refused. Our national and private loans to the Philippines aggregate over \$70,000,000, some of the bonds running for long terms, guaranteed by the Government of the United States, and tax exempt.

Ex-Senator R. F. Pettigrew relates that before the Spanish war Aguinaldo, with the approval and co-operation of Admiral Dewey, started a revolution and dispossessed the Spanish from all of the Philippines except Manila. Aguinaldo set up a government with the advice of Admiral Dewey, but after Manila had fallen, we ordered Aguinaldo to withdraw his troops from the suburbs of Manila, which he did. We then ordered him to withdraw from some of the adjoining towns, which he did also. We demanded of him the recognition of the sovereignty of the United States, and this he declined. We thereupon proceeded to make war upon him and attacked his forces near Manila. The American military commander reported that Aguinaldo's forces had attacked his, but this statement was found afterwards to be absolutely false.

"So we did not conquer the Islands from Spain, for Spain had been conquered and driven out by the government of Aguinaldo. We had simply helped to take the city of Manila. Therefore we took no title by conquest from Spain. . . . We did not acquire title by purchase, because title by purchase required delivery of possession, and as Spain was not in possession she could not and did not deliver the islands to us. By what right, then, are we there? . . . We have no more right to be there than the bandit has to enter and despoil your home."

### **Hawaii**

The Hawaiian Islands were annexed after President Cleveland had failed to re-establish queen Liliuokalani on the throne.



which he wished to do on the ground that the revolution in Hawaii was wrongfully accomplished by the aid of the American minister, Mr. Stevens, and the American naval force. The population at that time was divided as follows: Hawaiians, 35,000; Chinese, 21,616; Japanese, 24,407; Portugese, 15,191; Americans, 3,086; British, 2,250; Germans, 1,432.

"During Harrison's administration, Mr. Stevens was minister to Hawaii and he asked that some naval vessels be sent there to protect American lives and property. In reality, he had entered into an understanding with a small group of missionaries and their descendants to bring about a revolution, overthrow the existing government and annex the islands to the United States so that their sugar and products could come into our own market free from duty. A naval vessel was ordered to Hawaii and, after it arrived, thirteen conspirators met in a room and decided to overthrow the government. At night one hundred and fifty of the marines from the American battleship were landed and marched to a point seventy-five yards from and in front of the government building in Honolulu. The thirteen men, having arrived at the front of the Government building, read their proclamation and were immediately recognized as the government of the Hawaiian Islands by the American minister.

Taking Hawaii was an outrageous violation of the rights of a friendly government. The robbery did not inure to the benefit of the laboring people of the United States, but exclusively to the benefit of the exploiting speculators and plunderers. There was no glory attached thereto. It was an act of piracy, of dishonor and disgrace."—U. S. Senator R. F. Pettigrew.

### **The Panama Revolution**

When Colombia delayed consent to the construction of a canal, a revolution was started in Panama, as Prof. Beard says, "with the sympathy, if not the support of the American administration." Immediate recognition followed, and President Roosevelt finally admitted, "I took Panama." A strip ten miles wide from the Atlantic to the Pacific was ceded by the Republic of Panama to the United States in 1904 for \$10,000,000 and an additional annual payment of \$250,000. The Canal Zone is fortified and administered by the War Department.

Fifteen years later our Government decided to pay Colombia \$15,000,000 with apologies for having seized her ter-

ritory, but amended the terms so that \$25,000,000 should be paid without apologies. This treaty was exchanged on March 1, 1922; and the first of the five payments of \$5,000,000 was made six months later, with advice regarding the disposition of the money.

The New York Sun of August 8, 1919, explained one cause of the delay: "Efforts for an early settlement of the long standing differences between the United States and Colombia growing out of the establishment of the Republic of Panama and construction of the canal received a sudden setback today. . . . Within the last few days representatives of American oil interests which have holdings in Colombia have been in Washington calling attention to the Colombian Government's attitude toward American oil interests. Then there came to the committee from the State Department a copy of a decree issued in June by the Bogota Government looking for the nationalization of all oil resources, with small regard to established private interests."

### **Panama Canal Tolls**

A law was once passed exempting coast trade steamers from tolls in the canal. Great Britain claimed that such exemption was contrary to the Hay-Pauncefort treaty, but many of our population wished to disregard their protest. There was some doubt as to the infringement of the treaty, but, at the instance of President Wilson, the law was repealed.

### **Seizure of Dutch Ships**

In order to make good the losses of ships sunk by Germany, Great Britain and the United States endeavored to secure from Holland 950,000 tons of her shipping lying in their ports. When Holland refused, both the larger nations seized the ships in spite of vigorous protests. Legally this action was a revival of the mediaeval "right of angary." Hostile demonstrations were made before the U. S. Embassy at The Hague. Compensation was made for the ships after the war.

### **Monroe Doctrine**

The principle embodied in this doctrine is non-encroachment on the political independence of any State in the Western hemisphere by any non-American power. At the Pan-American Conference at Santiago in 1923 the United States flatly re-

fused to discuss incorporating the Monroe Doctrine in a general treaty as requested by South American countries. When asked about this in January, 1925, the State Department replied: "The records fail to show that any request of this nature was discussed at this conference," and "the question of the Monroe Doctrine being made reciprocal has never been presented in a Pan-American Congress officially."

So the United States remains free to encroach upon the independence of its neighbors.

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### **Non-Recognition of Mexico**

Towards the end of the Carranza Régime the Fall investigating committee held hearings along the border with the purpose of undermining the Mexican Government. As a result of the work of this body, Secretary of State Hughes, when Obregón took office in 1920 following revolutionary disturbances, demanded as a price of recognition:

Elimination of the retroactive clauses of Article 27, which invested the sub-soil rights in the Mexican people.

Elimination of the constitutional provisions which deprive Americans of the right of diplomatic appeal in cases where property is acquired.

Modification of provisions which prevent Americans acquiring and owning property within the Federal Zones along the Mexican coasts and international boundaries.

Article 33, which permits the president to expel undesirable aliens from the country, not to be applied to Americans without filing of charges and the opportunity of a fair trial.

Modification of the provisions governing religious worship in such wise that American clergy shall have the right to exercise the functions usual in their denominations.

Creation of a mixed commission for the adjustment of claims.

The Obregón Government resisted these unfair demands, showed a thorough ability to control the country, and made arrangements to refund the national debt. The Mexican Supreme Court handed down a ruling making the petroleum law non-retroactive. Various American state legislatures, various Chambers of Commerce, numerous newspapers in the United States clamored for recognition. In April, 1923, the two governments appointed a joint commission to determine the condi-

tions of recognition. As a result a joint-claims commission was created; restrictions were laid upon the expropriation of American property. Recognition was, on the whole, a victory for the Obregón Government.

CARLETON BEALS.

### War Profits

The facts presented to Congress by Representative Clyde H. Tavenner, December 15, 1915, indicate that war may well be induced by the profit system. Here are extracts:

"When war with Spain was imminent, the armor manufacturers practically issued an ultimatum to the Government that they would not manufacture a single piece of armor plate unless the Government should agree to pay them \$100 a ton more than the price fixed by Congress, after an investigation, as a fair price. And it is also worthy of notice that their patriotism did not prevent them from selling armor to Russia for \$249 a ton, while they were asking their own Government \$616 a ton....

"Although scarcely believable, it is the proven fact that British and German war trusts many years ago actually set about to represent to their respective home Governments that their rivals were planning to build and were building great armadas of giant fighting craft, which have since been proven absolutely to have been figments of the imagination, pure and simple. . . .

"The powder makers of the world, like the armor makers, have been in an international combine for years. . . . The Du Ponts have been in an agreement with a German firm—The United Rheinisch Westphalian Gunpowder Mills—to keep it informed of all improvements in the processes of powder making. . . . And even this is not all. The Du Ponts agreed to keep the German concern informed at all times of all powder furnished to the United States Government. . . ." This agreement was cancelled before the World War.

"Whenever there has been an investigation by Congress of the Navy Department, the investigators incidentally turned up information showing that Navy officers were secretly connected with the armor-making concerns. . . . I do not pretend to know the number of ex-Army and Navy officers now connected with munition manufacturers. There are more of such instances to-day, I believe, than at any time in the history of the Government. . . .

"The navy leagues of the various powers co-operate with one another just as the armament interests do, and there is a reason. They are the armament interests, with large memberships of sincere, patriotic men and women and many of the most prominent citizens roped in through false pretense. . . .

"If the people wish to insure themselves against all form of government by armor plate, cannon and munitions makers, there is but one way they can do it, and that is by taking private profit out of war and preparation for war. . . .

"Behind the war trust is the most powerful group of men in the United States, if not in the world. Its control is in the hands of the same group of money kings that rule the insurance companies, the great banks, express companies, telegraph companies, railroads and steamship lines. . . ."

Then follows a list of munition making corporations having representatives in the Navy League.

Amos Pinchot showed that the 33 members of the Council of National Defense were all interested in corporations that made enormous profits out of the war. He commented: "\$3,600,000,000 in excess profits in the war's first year—an inconceivable sum, wrung from the labor of our fighting and producing classes, and from the necessity of our allies. . . . Using the Steel Corporation as an example, its average profits for 1911, 1912 and 1913 were \$63,500,000. Its net profits for 1917 will, as estimated, be over \$550,000,000. . . . Nor is it labor charges that have caused these rises, for from 1913 to 1916 total labor charges of the company went up from \$207,000,000 to \$263,000,000, or 37 per cent, while the prices of billets went up over 50 per cent and the price of plates over 117 per cent."

### **Militarism**

The Great Powers have constantly increased their armaments, the total cost for the forty-one years from 1873 to 1913 being \$10,717,000,000. This "armed peace" did not prevent war. Leaders in each country—the Kaiser, Lord Fisher, Boucher, etc.,—encouraged the militaristic spirit with such remarks as, "The essence of war is violence. Moderation in war is imbecility. Hit first, hit hard, and hit everywhere." "It's quite silly not to make war damnable to the whole mass of your enemy's population." Practically all the European statesmen regarded war as inevitable.



Having military strength, each great power seizes any opportunity to increase its possessions or influence—as after the Sarajevo murder, the Corfu affair and the Egyptian murder of Sir Lee Stack. Demands based upon might rather than right are made and enforced.

The influence of militarists upon our own conflicts is shown by the National Council for the Prevention of War:

“Our War of 1812 was opposed by the President and forced on the country by a little group in Congress called the ‘War Hawks.’ Our war with Spain was opposed by the President and forced on the country by our ‘yellow press.’ Our war with Mexico was opposed by Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, Horace Mann, Garrison, Phillips, Theodore Parker, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier and Emerson. General Grant, who fought in it, declared in his later life that it was ‘one of the most unjust wars ever waged by a stronger against a weaker people.’”

The War Department says that we were caught unprepared by these wars. It would be more accurate to say that we were caught unprepared by our war-mongers. *“It must not be again.”*

In 1915 the Navy League said: “World empire is the only logical and natural aim of a nation. . . . It is the absolute right of a nation to live in its full intensity, to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means such as armed conquest, commerce, diplomacy.”

In August, 1924, Admiral Rodgers, retired, declared that the United States must be prepared to conduct a war of aggression when our population reaches 200,000,000 which will be within the century.

In spite of the “war to end war” and of the subsequent disarmament conference, there are more men under arms in the world today than before the war and the expenditures for military purposes are greater in the victorious countries.

The United States spent for defense in 1912, \$244,177,000, while the budget for 1925-26 calls for \$704,263,133, including the appropriations for aerial and chemical warfare.

According to Savel Zimand, writing in the New York Times for April 19, 1925: “Since 1872 the military budget of the United

States has increased 2,413 per cent; of France, 1,085 per cent; and of Great Britain, 794 per cent."

An article in the April, 1925, *World To-morrow*, by Nevin Sayre, gives the following facts:

Last year the nations of the world spent for armament \$2,900,000,000.

For the League and world peace, \$4,500,000.

Roughly, 650 times as much for machinery of death as for machinery of peace. In Europe last summer 9,000,000 men were drilling, 2,000,000 more than in January, 1914. The United States does its part by staging Defense Day and Naval Manuevers and by pushing military training in colleges and camps.

### Foreign Loans

Loans to foreign countries, and investments in alien lands are possible causes of war, though the National City Bank says that "no war has ever been begun for the collection of debt" and "no war ever has been due to the influence of bankers or private financial interests." That may be true if forceful control of customs and occupation of territory of minor countries are not war. Others say that the modern method of conquest is not by soldiers' guns, but by bankers' loans.

On March 22, 1917, E. P. C. Harding, President of the Federal Reserve Board, published the following statement: "As banker and creditor, the United States would have a place at the peace conference table, and be in a much better position to resist any proposed repudiation of debts, for it might as well be remembered that we will be forced to take up the cudgels for any of our citizens owning bonds that might be repudiated."

Ambassador Page writes that "by April 6, 1917, Great Britain had overdrawn her account with J. P. Morgan to the extent of \$400,000,000 and had no cash available with which to meet this overdraft. . . . The American Government finally paid this overdraft out of the proceeds of the first Liberty Loan." The National City Bank says there was ample security on deposit to secure the loan and that the bankers had no negotiations with the Government on the subject, but that the Government voluntarily assumed the debt and paid the private bankers. The casual observer notes, however, that J. P. Morgan received the huge sum as soon as war was declared.

The Chamber of Commerce of New York "urges the Government of the United States to proclaim and enforce at all times an unyielding policy for the protection of American citizens and legitimate American investment in foreign countries."

The New York Sun, of July 9, 1919, said: "Acting Secretary of State Polk today made it clear that the U. S. Government was going to stand staunchly behind the American oil interests in Mexico. . . . Unless Carranza gives satisfaction, there is more than a possibility of determined measures being taken against him."

The amount lent by our Government and by American citizens to foreign countries amounted to \$18,578,000,000 at the beginning of 1925. Among these loans was one of \$187,720,750 in 1917 to the Kerensky government of Russia, and another of \$1,329,750 to the same government on November 15, 1917, eight days after the Bolsheviki had assumed control. Of these sums \$102,000,000 was paid to American contractors in settlement of private claims. Boris Bakhmeteff continued as Russian Ambassador in Washington until June 30, 1922, when Senator Borah's criticism made further tenure unpleasant. Bakhmeteff returned \$590,967 of the money lent to his long defunct government without authority of Congress by our Government.

About \$25,000,000 was spent on military operations in Russia, an ally, without declaration of war.

The total of inter-nation loans in January, 1925, was \$29,100,000,000. Since then our bankers have lent \$1,073,329,000 more, and were proposing, on July 1, 1925, to lend an additional \$1,587,750,000.

Ruskin may have anticipated foreign loans when he said: "There is nothing really more monstrous in any recorded savagery or absurdity of mankind, than that governments should be able to get money for any folly they choose to commit, by selling to capitalists the right of taxing future generations to the end of time."

The United States State Department announced on March 3, 1922: "It is the desire of the Government that it be duly and adequately informed regarding the flotation of issues of foreign bonds in the American market before their consummation, so that it might express itself regarding them if that should be requested or deemed advisable."

Two months later the Salvador loan was floated in the terms of which the Chief Justice of the United States was made arbiter to settle disputes between the bankers and the Government of Salvador. The bankers' circular offering the bonds contained the following: "It is simply unthinkable that after a Federal Judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Salvador Government, the United States Government should not take the necessary steps to sustain such a decision. There is a precedent in a dispute between Costa Rica and Panama, in which a warship was sent to carry out the verdict of the arbitrators."

Lewis S. Gannett, of *The Nation*, says that a loan of \$16,000,000 was made by the American financial adviser to Haiti "over the protest of virtually the entire Haitian people," which loan automatically extended the United States' occupation of Haiti for at least thirty years.

Mr. Gannett also says that United States marines were sent to Nicaragua in 1912 to protect the private bank loan forced upon Nicaragua, and that this military protection of private banking loans cost the people of the United States over \$1,000,000 a year as marines have been stationed in Nicaragua continuously.

James Weldon Johnson, U. S. Consul to Nicaragua from 1909 to 1913, says that a revolution there was fomented in the United States and our forces used to support one faction.

In February, 1925, a resolution was introduced in Congress by Senator Ladd to prevent the Department of State in future from engaging the responsibility of the Government of the United States in behalf of financial arrangements of private citizens and other governments. Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University presented a statement favoring the resolution because its passage would "protect the country from the evils of secret diplomacy and from the making of arrangements which, while apparently made openly, nevertheless commit the people of the country to later actions which they never intended and about which they have never been consulted," and will "protect the country from being drawn unawares into imperialistic adventures."

## PART II

# THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

### Chapter I

#### DEFINITIONS AND ARTICLETTES

##### **American Peace Award**

Edward W. Bok offered, in 1923, a prize of \$50,000 for the best practical plan by which the United States might co-operate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world. 22,165 plans were submitted and the award was made to Charles H. Levermore for his suggestion that the U. S. join the Permanent Court of International Justice with reservations, and co-operate with the League of Nations upon condition that moral force is substituted for military force, that the Monroe Doctrine is safeguarded, that we assume no obligations under the Treaty of Versailles, that all nations may join the League and that international law be developed.

There was so much criticism of the method employed in making the award that Mr. Bok and others were summoned before a Senate committee, where nothing serious developed. The original offer included a second \$50,000 provided the plan was approved by the U. S. Senate, or had won popular support, by March 4, 1925. The Senate did not take action, and up to June 1, 1925, no decision had been reached as to whether or not popular approval had been sufficient. The address of the organization is 565 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

##### **American Plan**

A term coined by employers during the "open shop drive" of 1920-1922, ostensibly to describe a shop that discriminated neither against non-union or union members. Most "American plan" shops, however, while open to non-unionists, are, in reality, closed to union members. (See Company Unions.)

HARRY W. LAIDLER,

*Director, League for Industrial Democracy.*

##### **Anarchism**

"The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary."

EMMA GOLDMAN.



Anarchy is generally confused with *Nihilism*, which means the destruction of existing Government Agencies, to make room for Individualistic Control, only as far as may preserve equal rights. Also with *Terrorism* which means the destruction of Government officials to such an extent as will make government by force impossible. It may be said of the Terror that it does not seem hopeful, since cowardice has never been the vice of rulers.

BOLTON HALL.

### Arbitration

The word "arbitration" has many meanings, but the two connotations most frequently implied in the use of the word are, first, a method of settling disputes between employers and employees called Industrial Arbitration; and second, the settling of disputes between business men, firms and corporations.

There is a very clear cut distinction between the first and second connotations. Industrial Arbitration calls for the setting up of some sort of committee or board composed of an equal number of representatives from organized employers and organized workers. This board in practically all cases is provided for in a trade agreement which has been voluntarily entered into by the two parties and this agreement is the law under which this board must function. All disputes of whatever nature regarding wages, hours, working conditions, etc., which cannot be settled otherwise, are referred to this board. If the board can agree on a settlement of the disputed matter, its decision is final. If it cannot agree, then an outside arbitrator (usually called an Impartial Chairman) is selected and in most cases his decision is final. The entering into an agreement by employers and employees to arbitrate is voluntary on the part of both parties and the decisions of the Board or Chairman do not have the same validity as decisions rendered by courts of law. The trade agreement, however, would be susceptible of enforcement the same as any other agreement.

The second meaning which is sometimes confused with Industrial Arbitration is very distinct from the above. It means the settlement of disputes in the commercial world arising between those engaged in all lines of business. It calls for the appointment of a representative by each side and these representatives select a third. The parties sign an agreement to arbitrate and the decision of this board (in New York State) has

the validity of a court decision. This form of arbitration had its inception in an endeavor to relieve the congestion in the courts of law.

The only form of compulsory arbitration in this country is the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations. Bills for the establishment of such a Court in the State of New York failed of passage in the Legislature. This form of arbitration has met with strong opposition from the workers as well as from employers.

CHARLES B. BARNES,

*Chairman, Industrial Arbitration, New York City.*

### **Birth Control**

Birth control in its present usage means the conscious, responsible control of conception. It does *not* mean interference with life after conception. It consists of the use of scientific information and means by which the possibility of conception is limited to the times when it is desired.

The movement in the United States dates back to the early part of the 19th century. Various notable contributions to education in methods were progressively made by scientists and sociologists. But in 1873 Anthony Comstock influenced Congress to pass laws aimed to suppress obscene publications, and by a blunder generally conceded to have been due to ignorance and haste, these statutes included unqualified prohibitions of the circulation by any public carrier, of all contraceptive information and means.

The states then followed suit with similar obscenity laws. In 24 states it is a crime to circulate contraceptive knowledge or means in other ways beside via public carriers. The mere possession of instructions is a felony in some states.

Public protest against these laws occurred at intervals, but after 1914 it grew into great popularity, due largely to the career of Margaret Sanger, who openly defied the laws for the benefit of the poor and ignorant. On the occasion of her first arrest she served thirty days in jail. She has ever since devoted herself to stirring up public interest in the need for birth control and the establishment of clinical instructions in method.

In 1915, the first National Birth Control League was organized by Jessie Ashley, Clara Stillman, and Mary Ware Dennett, in New York City. Its object was education and legislation, both state and federal.

In 1919, as an outgrowth of this first organization, the Voluntary Parenthood League was formed, under the leadership of Mary Ware Dennett, with similar objects, but with special emphasis on the repeal of the federal laws. The older organization merged into the new one.

In 1921, Margaret Sanger organized the American Birth Control League, with a general educational aim, and emphasis on clinical instruction. Its legislative policy would limit the privilege of the circulation of knowledge to physicians only.

The Voluntary Parenthood League has succeeded in getting a bill introduced in Congress, and brought to a Hearing. It is now before the Judiciary Committee. It is known as the Cummins-Vaile Bill.

The American Birth Control League has succeeded in establishing restricted clinical instruction in New York City. A local Chicago group has applied for a clinic license, but the City Health Commissioner has carried the question of granting it into the courts. Clinical service is being planned in several other cities.

Besides increasing variety and quantity of literature, the movement has two regular periodicals: the Birth Control Review, started as an independent magazine and now the official organ of the American Birth Control League; and the Birth Control Herald, the official organ of the Voluntary Parenthood League.

The movement is backed by many leading physicians, clergymen, sociologists, and thousands of representative citizens. The only sizable cohesive opposition is the Roman Catholic Church.

MARY WARE DENNETT.

### **Blacklisting**

Employers agree among themselves not to employ certain workmen. They give each other secret information that leads to a man's discharge. Most States have laws prohibiting blacklisting, but they are dead letters. Boycotting, however, the similar weapon of labor, is almost universally prevented since the Danbury Hatters decision.

### **Bolshevism**

The social, economic and political theories of the present Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in Russia.

Originally, the term indicated the majority, or Bolsheviks, at the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917 (which see) as distinguished from the minority or Mensheviks.

As commonly used by conservatives in the United States Bolshevism is an epithet to represent any attempt to alter existing conditions to the disadvantage of the ruling or capitalistic classes.

### **Bourgeoisie**

A term applied by socialists to manufacturers, land owners and other capitalists as opposed to the proletariat; often used to distinguish the middle class from the wealthy, or the poor.

### **Boycotts**

The boycott in labor disputes has been described as an agreement on the part of two or more workers to cease relations with an "unfair" firm and generally to induce or to coerce third parties to cease such relations. When the workers either directly refuse to patronize another or when they endeavor to induce third parties through persuasion to cease their relations with another, the courts have held that such activity constitutes a primary boycott. When, however, a combination of workers seeks to *coerce* third parties through threats of loss of business or of physical injury to cease their relations with a boycotted firm, a secondary boycott is constituted. Recent decisions have pronounced the primary boycott legal; the secondary boycott illegal.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Bridgeport Plan**

A plan adopted in Bridgeport, Conn., industries in 1918, during the World War, providing for joint committees of employees and employers to deal with questions of common interest in the industry. It included provisions for both general and departmental committees of workers and for the recall of committeemen.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Buck Stove Case**

A case involving a nation-wide boycott, initiated in 1907 by the molders against the Buck Stove and Range Company, a St. Louis corporation, headed by T. W. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. In the course of the boycotting campaign a federal injunction was issued which

forbade the calling of attention to the existence of the boycott in any manner whatsoever. Samuel Gompers and others disregarded the injunction and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment for contempt of court. The sentences were set aside in 1914 on the ground that too long a time had elapsed between the commission of the act and the beginning of the suit by the court.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Bureaucracy (Buro'krasy)**

Excessive concentration of power in administrative bureaus.

### **Capital Punishment**

All but six States have laws providing for the death penalty, and some, like Kentucky, include burglary among the crimes so punishable. Six States abolished the death penalty but re-enacted the law. Lewis E. Lawes, warden of Sing Sing prison, asserts that the fear of the death penalty is not a deterrent to crime. See his book, "Man's Judgment of Death."

### **Capitalism**

The present system of industrial society under which the chief means of production and distribution are privately owned and operated for private profit.

### **Capitalists—the Capitalist Class**

Those persons whose income is derived wholly or chiefly from the ownership of property.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

### **Check-Off**

Check-off is a system by which employers deduct from the miner's pay the dues for his union and turn them over to the union. It was started 25 years ago because the miners suspected the companies did not weigh the coal fairly. Companies have also deducted amounts due from the men for doctors, merchandise and rent in towns controlled by the company. The testimony of J. R. Welborn, president of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., before the Commission on Industrial Relations, contains this:

"Chairman Walsh—Do the miners in Colorado, as a matter of fact, ever receive the whole of their wages free from deductions?"

"Mr. Welborn—They do; free from deductions except those made with their consent—perfectly voluntary on their part."



"Chairman Walsh—Just indicate what those deductions are."

"Mr. Welborn—In our companies, the one as to hospital, the deduction for smithing, the deduction for powder—something they have bought, the deduction for supplies bought at the stores."

### **Child Labor**

There has always been opposition to any proposal for the limitation of employment. Manufacturers wish to be free to hire labor on the best terms possible.

In 1915, Congress passed a law forbidding the transportation from State to State of goods on which children between 14 and 16 had worked at night or more than 8 hours a day. The Supreme Court set aside the law. In 1919, Congress imposed a tax of 10 per cent of the net profits for the year on all establishments in which any child between 14 and 16 had worked at night or more than 8 hours a day. This was declared unconstitutional in May, 1922.

Now there is before the State legislatures the ratification of the proposed 20th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which is as follows:

"Section 1—The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"Section 2—The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress."

Opposition has developed on every side, fostered by misrepresentations, especially the claim that no person under 18 could run an errand if the amendment were adopted, and that children could not work on farms. Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers' Associations are fighting ratification.

By March 11, 1925, 4 States had ratified in both houses of their legislatures and 3 more in one house, but 13 State legislatures had rejected the amendment and 10 more had rejected in one house. At any time a legislature may ratify, even after rejection, and the amendment will become law when three-quarters of the States have ratified.

### **Christian Socialism**

The movement which united the economic tenets of socialism with a conviction that Christianity must supply the dynamic

to transform our industrial system, without violence, into a nearer likeness to the City of God. The movement started in England in 1850. . . . Two of the founders, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, were Anglican clergymen; the third, J. H. Ludlow, was an economist who had been in contact with French socialist leaders and experiments in 1848.

The movement was soon merged in the co-operative movement of the Rochdale Pioneers; but it left its elements to work as a leaven never since absent from English Christianity. Its heirs were the Christian Social Union, sponsored by Bishop Gore and Canon Scott Holland, and the present day Industrial Christian Fellowship.

The Roman Church has explicitly denounced socialism. But names matter little. In France, the movement fathered by Marc Sangnier, in Italy the Catholic Partito Popolare, show interesting points of contact with socialism. In America, the mantle of the great pioneer Bishop Ketteler has fallen on Father Ryan and Father Husslein. We find however today no considerable Christian socialist movement in the United States. The social radicalism inspired by the Church naturally repudiates Marxism, with its stress on the class struggle and the necessity for violent revolution. But many Christian organizations look in a socialist direction. The demand for the substitution of co-operation for competition and the belief that use must take the place of profit as an end in industry, are more and more possessing the Christian conscience.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

### **Class Consciousness**

A realization that one belongs to a particular economic group in the community, the interests of the members of which are essentially the same, and a conviction that the members of this class must work together for mutual advantage. The object of the development of class consciousness among the workers is that they may rely on their own combined efforts for social improvement and emancipation rather than on those of members of other groups. The development of class consciousness, contrary to public opinion, has a tendency to lessen, rather than increase, class hatred.

For its ethical significance, see Scudder's "Socialism and Character."

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Class Struggle**

A struggle between economic classes for power and the product of industry. Karl Marx maintained that the history of past society had been a history of struggles between the exploiters and the exploited and that the class struggle now going on between the capitalist class and the working class would result in the supremacy of labor, the abolition of all class struggles and the ushering in of a co-operative commonwealth.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Closed Shop**

A shop where the trade union does not permit non-union labor to work, but furnishes the employer with other union men in the event of an unauthorized strike.

**Collective Bargaining**

A term used to designate the direct dealing in the making of agreements between the representatives of labor unions or an association of unions, on the one hand, and of employers or an association of employers, on the other hand. It is contrasted with individual bargaining between employers and individual employees or between employers and "company union" representatives.

**Collectivism**

A general term used to designate community ownership of industry with the aim of service to the entire people, as opposed to individual ownership for private profit.

**Communism**

The word communism has a number of quite widely divergent meanings. The communists of the early nineteenth century visualized a future social order in which not only capital goods, but a large proportion of personal property would be owned in common. "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs," was the communists' proposed method of exacting service and rewarding labor.

For a short time during the middle of the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels used the word "communism" to express their philosophy of "scientific socialism" as contrasted with "utopian" socialism and other schools of socialist thought which failed to recognize the class struggle.

Modern or neo-communism is the philosophy of the Bolsheviks in control of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Third

International. Neocommunism differs from socialism in tactics rather than in future ideals. Communists believe that the social change from the present order to socialism will not be brought about by parliamentary methods, but through a coup d'état on the part of the militant, aggressive minority of the proletariat, who will seize the political and industrial institutions, establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, substitute a soviet form of government for the old parliamentary forms, transfer essential industries from private to social ownership and dissolve the dictatorship only after the new order has been firmly established.

HARRY W. LAIDLER,

### **The Communist Manifesto**

The first classic of "scientific socialism." It was written in 1847-48 by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, then young men of 29 and 27 years, respectively, at the behest of a group of workers of various European countries, who had met in London. The manifesto maintained that the history of civilized society was a history of class struggles; that the class struggle under capitalism was primarily a struggle between the working class and the employing class, and that that struggle would not cease until the workers, ever increasing in numbers, ever more strongly organized, secured control of government and industry and proceeded to the social ownership of industry and the abolition of all classes. The manifesto concluded with a shibboleth which has since served as a rallying cry to the revolutionary workers of all countries: "The proletariat have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries Unite!"

HARRY W. LAIDLER,

### **Company Unions**

Associations of workers formed at the instance of employers and largely dominated in essentials by employers. The company union is for a particular shop and is not affiliated with any trade union. Its purpose is often to counteract labor unions. Two examples will show the main aspects.

The Industrial Representation Plan adopted by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was said by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to be popular with the miners, but a poll taken by the Federal Department of Labor in 1919 found the men practically unanimous against the plan. The Russell Sage Foundation also investigated during 1919-20 and published its findings in 1925, re-

porting in part: "The 'employees representatives' are men who work in the mines and who do not feel free to act in opposition to the company's interest in defense of fellow employees; that employees are not making full use of the plan even for the presentation of grievances; that in actual practice the employees' representatives have no share in decisions concerning reported grievances; that the issues of trade unionism versus employees' representation is kept constantly alive by the company's refusal to permit union meetings in any building in the camps owned by the company, by other frequent instances of antagonism to unions, and by the company's policy of accepting the wage scale of its competitors which has actually been set by unionized companies through negotiations with the United Mine Workers, while refusing to deal in any way with the miners' union."

The Pennsylvania Railroad's telegraphers voted 4,258 to 318 against the company's union in an election held by the Railroad Labor Board to determine the wishes of the employees. The company then interviewed the employees separately and withdrew privileges when they refused to yield, finally ordering a new election for February 6th, 1925, which the men did not attend. Judge Dickinson dismissed the suit of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for an injunction against the Pennsylvania Railroad to compel it to comply with the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. Practically every railroad in the country has obtained injunctions against its employees during the past few years. An appeal was argued before the Supreme Court which ruled, March 2, 1925, that railroads are not required to submit to the Railroad Labor Board their disputes with employees, and that rulings of the Board can not be enforced against either the railroads or their employees.

In February, 1925, railway labor organizations declared that the railroad presidents were "establishing company-controlled labor associations officered by management dummies who would sign any contract the management wrote."

### **Compulsory Co-operation**

This is a suggestion for a compromise between capitalism and socialism by which individual initiative will be retained while some of the defects of the profit system will be eliminated. It can be effected by federal legislation without expropriation of property, and should, therefore, be easier of immediate attainment than public ownership of all industry.



The idea is to compel all corporations to do what a few progressive companies now do voluntarily. There is universal commendation when an employer distributes stock among his employees, or when a system of profit sharing is adopted, or employee representation is put into practice. And if these beneficent acts are made compulsory, the discrepancies between the present remuneration for capital and labor will be partially equalized.

There is now compulsory co-operation in the form of taxation; every corporation that earns sufficient net income must pay to the Government a portion of it. This compulsion should be extended to cover the needs of the employees and the welfare of the public, and this can only be accomplished by limiting profits for the owners. This has already been done in the case of many public service corporations which are now prevented from issuing stock in excess of real value, as was customary in the past; their receipts and expenses are examined by the courts; their dividends are limited to reasonable rates. Yet they do not suffer financially; they are able to satisfy investors. This supervision should be extended to all corporations and should be federal so that capital will have no place in the country to flee to for predatory operations. Corporations will not relinquish voluntarily the control that is so valuable to them. It is not human nature to do so, except in rare instances.

The compromise outlined here will provide a fair return for capital, better than a living wage for labor and reasonable prices for the public. It is proposed to limit by federal statute the capital stock of all corporations to the actual value of their property, as is now done in Massachusetts, which shall in no case exceed the amount of money invested, thus eliminating the exorbitant allowances for good-will; forbid the issuance of stock below par, or as bonuses or dividends; restrict salaries and reserves for depreciation and other expenses to a certain proportion of earnings. None of these provisions will interfere with legitimate business.

Wages should be adjusted in each industry to provide an income determined by experts to be a minimum standard for an American. No one should be expected to work for less than he can live on. If a company is unable to pay a living wage, it is a parasite industry and waste must be eliminated until it becomes more profitable.

We should establish by federal law the maximum return that investors may receive on their capital, whether 4 or 6 or 8 per cent, and let this dividend be the first charge against net earnings after wages are paid. Surplus earnings should then be paid to labor, both brain and hand workers, to an amount equal to some percentage of annual wages or salaries, say 25 per cent. This will give the workers an incentive to make the business pay, for unless they are efficient, they will receive only the minimum for subsistence. Capitalists will share in this surplus distribution, in so far as they work, in the form of increased salaries.

When earnings exceed the amounts provided for in this plan of distribution, price reductions should be made for the benefit of the public. This will prevent profiteering and reduce the cost of living as never before.

Control of every business should be placed by law in the hands of officers selected by the stockholders and workers actually present at the meetings of the corporation, thus creating industrial democracy. It will be to the advantage of all to employ the ablest officers obtainable, and when salaries throughout the country are limited, there will be the same competition for good executive positions at the highest available salaries, as now for the \$100,000 positions.

Under this federal law,—possibly requiring a constitutional amendment, but easier of attainment than total elimination of private profits—competition between employer and employee would be supplanted by a mutual desire to earn to capacity. The worker would have an inducement to do his best instead of giving grudging service for an unsatisfactory wage. Strikes and their consequent losses for both sides would be practically eliminated. The public would be protected from fraudulent stock issues which, according to the Secretary of the Treasury, now mulct the people of \$500,000,000 a year. Whenever profits mounted, prices would be automatically reduced: books of all corporations should be open for official inspection, as they are now for income tax returns.

Compulsory co-operation would force all corporations to adopt the methods of the most progressive companies, and would prove advantageous ultimately for the employers—who are in danger of total loss of property in every country—as well as for the workers and consumers. The new law need not pre-

vent individuals or partnerships from making large profits when assuming personal responsibility, but would prevent future accretions of capital by a few stock manipulators.

WILLIAM FLOYD.

### Convict Labor

At the present time more than two hundred thousand convicts are serving sentences of "hard labor" in the prisons of the United States. They work in prison work-shops, owned by the various states, but used by manufacturers who employ convict labor. The taxpayers provide these convict-labor contractors with rent, heat, light, drayage, power, and supervision of working force, free of all cost. And to operate these prison work-shops the state officials sell, or lease to the manufacturers the labor of the prisoners at from one-tenth to one-sixth of the ordinary wage paid to free labor in a given industry. Then the contractors, or their private employees, are given full control of the discipline of the prisoners and they may use means they see fit to exact the task, and this task is in every instance far greater production than free workers ever produce.

My task in prison was to make the body portion of 88 coveralls each day, an amount of work I have never been able to convince any employer of free labor that any garment operator could do. If the women convicts failed to make the task, and all of them did fail more or less, they were punished with fiendish cruelty—beaten, starved, frozen in winter and roasted in summer, hung up by the wrists with handcuffs, gagged, subjected to beastly sex perversions and left to rot in the dungeon. I have seen every punishment that the diseased brains of men can invent, but in only one or two instances was it for bad behavior—always it was for failure to produce the task. I know that if prison labor for profits were eliminated, ninety per cent of all punishments, brutalities and abuses would automatically disappear. The contractors paid the state about 50c per day for my labor, the state paid me 1½c per day and I actually earned, at sweat-shop wages, about \$6 per day. This gave the contractor a clear profit of \$5.48½ per day on my labor and it is this \$5 or more per day profit that breeds prison brutalities.

The products of prison labor are sold in the open market under false and misleading labels, and in competition with free labor and legitimate industry, and their value last year was upwards of a hundred million dollars. And these millions, ground

from the very life blood of helpless convicts flaunt law and debauch everything they touch. They rob helpless prisoners, rob their families, rob free men and women of employment, throttle legitimate industry and breed corruption everywhere.

But this profit on prison labor commits a still greater crime against society—it stays the wheels of progress. I know that if prison labor for private profits were eliminated and the prison labor contractor driven from the prison, the steel barred gates would open, modern science would enter and do for that combination of diseases we call crime what it has done in other fields of social wealth. Science has created a new world during the last century, and nowhere are its achievements more marvelous than in matters of health. Physical and mental hygiene have made almost unbelievable strides, modern therapy and surgery approach the miraculous. Profits shut them out of our prisons. I want profits removed so science can enter and clean up these social pestholes.

KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.

### Conscientious Objection

Any statement on conscientious objection must begin with a definition. Not all political prisoners in war time were conscientious objectors. Thus, Eugene V. Debs and other prisoners under the Espionage Law were not conscientious objectors even though their opposition to war was of the most conscientious character. The term conscientious objector was reserved for those who refused to give implicit obedience to the draft law. They would not admit the right of the state to use them for military service irrespective of their own convictions. Some were willing to take non-combatant service that did not compel them actually to kill the enemy; others refused all service in uniform as an unsatisfactory compromise but were willing to perform useful civilian service on farms at home or in reconstruction service abroad; a few—the “absolutist”—refused to render any service under conscription either in the army or in any alternative civilian substitute the government offered to provide.

The number of conscientious objectors was not great. No one knows the exact total because some men never fell in the hands of the War Department. They refused to register or perhaps to report for physical examination and surrendered

themselves to the civil courts, which under the draft law, had jurisdiction over them. They were sentenced to prison for terms not exceeding a year and were automatically enrolled in the draft while in prison. Some of them at the expiration of their terms in civil prison fell into the hands of the War Department and, if they remained obdurate, reached military prison. The number of such conscientious objectors as distinct from draft evaders and other war prisoners who were thus dealt with by the civil courts cannot be accurately ascertained from any figures made public by the government. It was not large, though it included outstanding figures like Roger Baldwin, Donald Stephens, the religious group of the Molokans, and others.

Most objectors reported to their draft boards and were sent to camp. According to the War Department, only 3989 out of a grand total of 2,810,296 inducted men made any claim in camp for any degree of exemption as conscientious objectors. Of these 3,989 objectors, 1,300 originally accepted or were assigned to non-combatant service; 1,200 were furloughed to agriculture; and 99 to the Friends Reconstruction Unit in France, while 450 were sent to prison by court martial. The rest were still in camp when the Armistice was signed.

The great majority of objectors—nearly ninety per cent—based their action on religious grounds. Some of these religious objectors were religious literalists, honest and sincere but without social vision. Others were religious idealists with a broad social vision. The remaining ten per cent of the objectors based their action on humanitarian grounds or on their political and economic opinions. The objectors in general had a high average when intelligence tests were taken.

The original law passed by Congress specifically provided for exemption only from combatant service and limited such exemption to members of existing religious sects whose creed or principles were opposed to war. Ultimately, in practice, the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and the Secretary of War, as his active agent, permitted the benefits of partial exemption to apply to all "sincere" objectors to *all* war. Objectors merely to *this particular war* usually had a harder time. No objector was granted absolute exemption, and those who refused both non-combatant and alternative service found their way to jail.



The process of working out a policy and segregating sincere objectors was long and trying. It lasted from the beginning of mobilization until June, 1918. During this period many objectors segregated in camp underwent very cruel treatment and some were sent to jail before the final policy of the War Department was adopted. In the end the business of judging the sincerity of objectors was left to a board consisting of Judge Julian Mack, Dean Harlan F. Stone (later Attorney-General of the United States), and Major Richard C. Stoddard, who was soon succeeded by Major Walter G. Kellogg. Courts martial dealt with absolutists who refused all service and with alleged "insincere" objectors.

The end of the war found the absolutist objectors and some objectors not absolutists who had been precipitately sentenced, imprisoned in the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. They had, hanging over their heads, terms often ranging from twenty to thirty years. Some of very tender conscience refused to work even in prison because they were under the command of officers and treated like disobedient soldiers. They and a number of other prisoners who struck in sympathy with them were for many weeks kept in dark, solitary cells, manacled nine hours a day to the bars. Public protest finally ended this situation as the year 1918 drew to its close. The same protest and a gradual return to sanity resulted in a reduction of sentences and a release of objectors. This reduction was carried on by no rule of fairness that could be discovered. The order for the release of the last objectors, thirty-one in number, was issued November 23, 1920, two years after the signing of the Armistice, and fifteen months after the release of the English objectors.

For many months previous to this act the objectors had been in other prisons than Fort Leavenworth. Some of them had been sent to Fort Alcatraz, a regular military prison in San Francisco Bay, and others had been confined in an internment camp at Fort Douglas, Utah. Of the history of their experiences, of the singular mixture of comparative decency and outright cruelty with which they were treated, of the dramatic strike of the prisoners in Fort Leavenworth in which the conscientious objectors were leaders, there is no space to speak. Contrary to reports circulated at the time, there was never any doubt of the courage or sincerity of the overwhelming majority of objectors.

While there was plenty to criticize in Secretary Baker's handling of conscientious objectors it is probable that at least in its early stages it was more rather than less liberal than a war-maddened public opinion desired. The problem of conscientious objection was emphatically not solved in the last war. It will almost inevitably recur in a new war. But whatever mistakes the government made, it showed that in war time it was comparatively easy to reduce the number of conscientious objectors, and especially of absolutist objectors, to such inconsiderable figures as to make little difference to the size of the army. The same thing may happen in another war. If we do not acquire the wisdom to prevent war it is not likely that we shall acquire tolerance of conscientious objection. But the spirit behind conscientious objection is in its opposition to war and to the divinity of the state—the sort of spirit which must be cultivated if we are ever to achieve peace.

NORMAN THOMAS.

See "The Conscientious Objector in America," by Norman Thomas.

### Conservative

One who wishes to maintain the *status quo*; who fears radical innovation. The term generally applied to those who oppose any essential change in present day social and economic conditions; who believe that the system of private ownership of industry should remain intact, and that class divisions, based on property ownership and social traditions, should persist.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Constitution, The

The Declaration of Independence makes no mention of property rights; it is concerned wholly with human rights. The Constitution makes no mention of human rights, as written for submission to the people. It is concerned wholly with property rights. It omitted all mention of free speech, free press, freedom of assemblage, religious freedom, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, to petition for the redress of grievances, to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable search, to have speedy trial by jury and many other civil liberties. No wonder the people declined to adopt the Constitution until Washington gave his word that provisions for human rights would be added by amendment.

Quite truthfully could Woodrow Wilson write in his earliest book on Government, Division and Reunion: "The Federal government was not by intention a democratic government."

And now, since the courts have taken to themselves the power to declare void such laws as they don't like, it is well to remember the words of the greatest democrat, Thomas Jefferson: "The germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the judiciary—that irresponsible body . . . advancing its noiseless step like a thief in the night over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped."

J. H. RYCKMAN.

### **Contract Labor**

The term generally refers to a system of employment whereby laborers from foreign countries are imported under a contract to work for a certain employer. The system often resulted in compulsory labor or peonage.

### **Co-operation**

Consumers' co-operation is an economic movement whereby the people organized as consumers in voluntary associations produce and distribute for their own use the commodities or services they need.

Producers' co-operation, more accurately called "labor co-partnership," a syndicalist movement, is a method whereby the workers in industry propose to own and operate their economic activities for the purpose of the producers. (See Co-operative League of America.)

CEDRIC LONG.

### **Corporation**

A legal entity with power to hold property and to sue and be sued. Owners of common stock of business corporations have as many votes in the corporation as they have shares of stock. The advantages of corporations over the unincorporated concerns are (1) that they do not dissolve on the death of their organizers; (2) that the liability of members for debts is limited, and (3) that they are able to attract capital from very large numbers of people. Most of the business of the country is now conducted by corporations.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Craft Unions**—See Unions.

**Danbury Hatters Case**

In 1902, members of the Brotherhood of United Hatters of America entered into a boycott against a hat firm in Danbury, Conn.

Six years later the Supreme Court ruled that the nation-wide boycott was in restraint of trade and thus contravened the provision of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. A judgment was lodged for \$240,000 against the members of the union and, in 1914, this judgment was confirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court. The decision caused a furore among organized labor and led to the passage of the Clayton Amendment.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

A term applied by the Russian Communists to a transition stage between capitalism and socialism, wherein the industrial workers of the cities, the "small, militant, aggressive minority," had become, as a result of a coup d'etat, the controllers of the government and were seeking to keep down reactionary groups and socialize industry.

Such a dictatorship is marked by the disfranchisement of those not engaged in useful labor, and by the suppression of elements antagonistic to the government. Many claim that the terms as originally urged by Marx referred to a rule by the proletariat, after it had constituted itself "the self-conscious, independent movement of the *immense Majority*."

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Direct Action**

Mass action of the workers in the economic field to gain some economic or political end directly for themselves, without the intervention of parliamentary methods.

Thus the workers of Germany resorted to the general strike at the time of the Kapp rebellion to prevent the return of the monarchy. The term was used for years by syndicalists to designate industrial action for industrial ends, as opposed to political or "indirect" action.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Doctrinaire**

A term applied to those who are wedded to an abstract doctrine regardless of whether the truth of the doctrine is attested by the facts in the case.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Douglas Credit Scheme, The**

Proceeds on the assumption that the chief defect of our modern economic system is not where it is usually looked for, namely, in Deficiency of Production, but in inefficiency of Distribution. This inefficiency, again he does not trace to any of the usual "causes," but to the nature of our financial system which, of itself, and without any malign direction, operates to distribute more and more unequally, the fruits of our social inheritance and labor. The remedy proposed is to adjust our financial system to our economic system by manufacturing and distributing sufficient "money" to enable the community to command at any moment the whole of the communal resources; in other words, to have in circulation as many tokens of wealth as we have available units of wealth. The means consist of a regulation of retail prices by reference to standards of Productivity, irrespective of "money." The scheme sounds more difficult than in fact it is.

Many groups for its study and propaganda have been formed in England and elsewhere.

See Major C. H. Douglas' two principal works: "Economic Democracy" and "Credit Power and Democracy."

A. R. ORAGE.

### **Economic Determinism**

This term is sometimes used as synonymous with the economic interpretation or the materialistic conception of history. In this sense, it is a doctrine that insists that the manner in which people obtain their livelihood in a given epoch exerts a preponderant influence in molding the political, social, intellectual, legal and ethical relationships of that epoch.

It does not contend, however, that all history can be explained in economic terms *alone*. The term "economic determinism" is more properly used however to describe the determining power of economic interests over the conduct of individuals. The economic interpretation of history, on the other hand, deals with social, not individual relationships.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Employee Representation**

The movement which has come to be known as Employee Representation may be defined as the voluntary admission of the workers to a voice in the management of the industry. Approximately one thousand industrial concerns in America are oper-



ating under one or other of the various plans of "Industrial Democracy," "Works Councils," "Shop Committees", etc., all of which may be classed under the general head of Employee Representation. The degree of power delegated to the works councils varies widely under the different plans in operation, as do the reality and effectiveness of these plans in their actual operation in each plant. Their success depends largely upon the attitude and spirit of the owners, management and workers concerned in each instance, and also very definitely upon the technique and operating efficiency with which the plans themselves are made to function in each mill. Where intelligent provision is made for favorable conditions Employee Representation is proving most beneficial in eliminating strikes, antagonism and misunderstandings between capital and labor, and in promoting constructive co-operation in industry.

Employee Representation in its present stage of development, however, labors under very decided limitations in that the Works Councils are representative of the workers in separate and unrelated factories, or at best represent individual factories of a large company where some correlation is possible with other factories, but only with those owned by the same concern. As a consequence, Works Councils have been unable as yet to grapple in any effective way with the larger questions of market wages, and general standards of living which mean even more to the workers than the local problems and adjustments which are being very effectively handled in many instances by the Works Councils.

Industry-wide organization of the workers through the labor unions as well as industry-wide organization of employers would seem to offer the best basis for a more effective employee representation which would be able to bring to bear upon our more serious industrial problems the healthy American principle of representative government in industry.

#### **Partnership Plan, Dutchess Bleachery, Inc., Wappinger Falls, New York.**

The Partnership Plan provides for (1) a voice in the management (2) a knowledge of the business, (3) a share in the risks and profits of the business.

(1) The first is accomplished through three representative boards:

(a) The Board of Directors, upon which are seated, in addition to five representatives of the stockholders, one representative of the workers, and one representative of the public.

(b) The Board of Management consisting of seven representatives of the stockholders and management, and seven representatives of the workers. This Board has power to settle or adjust any matter of mill management which may arise. Provision is made for arbitration when necessary.

(c) The Board of Operatives consisting entirely of workers elected from all departments of the mill has delegated to it the management of the company houses, all recreational and educational activities, and power to bring up any matter of working conditions.

(2) A knowledge of the business is made available to all "partners" through the Board of Operatives which receives the full financial statements of the company, through "Joint Management Bulletins" showing orders received, production, poor work, etc.; by the publication of a plant paper and through other methods of information and publicity.

(3) A share in the profits and risks of the business is provided by the sharing of profits "50-50", after paying 6% to capital on its investment, paying the market wage to labor, and after filling and maintaining two reserves or Sinking Funds, one for capital and the other for Labor. Capital's Sinking Fund is intended to be drawn on to pay Capital its 6% during years when it may not have been earned, Labor's Sinking Fund and interest thereon is used to pay unemployment payments and health benefits to the workers. The Partnership Spirit in industry is the aim of the Partnership Plan.

JAMES MYERS,  
*Dutchess Bleacheries.*

### **The Dennison Plan**

In so far as the corporate fund of the Dennison Manufacturing Company is the property of investors, it is in the form of preferred stock, which gives to its owners a fixed return, representing interest and compensation for risk. But this preferred stock gives no share either in the net profits or in the control of the corporation. The investors are in the position of lenders and not in any sense a part of the body corporate.

Each year the profits remaining after dividends on all outstanding stock of any kind have been paid are reinvested in the

business and against this investment shares of stock are issued called Industrial Partnership Stock.

Two-thirds of this stock is voting stock and is issued to the Managerial Industrial Partners in proportion to their relative salaries. These are the managerial employees of the company—employees who have been with the company at least five years, and whose positions require the exercise of managing ability and control over methods of manufacturing and marketing, such as an executive, principal foreman, chief clerk, or principal salesman; or whose work shows the use of a high degree of imagination, tact, or business judgment.

Since this is the only voting stock, the entire control of the company is in the hands of the managerial employees. If the dividends average less than 4 per cent for a year, or less than 6 per cent for twenty-four months, the voting power will return to the first preferred stockholders, so the managers lose their control if they fail to make the business a success. This is not a permanent loss unless for thirty-six months dividends average less than 7 per cent.

The remaining one-third of the Industrial Partnership stock is non-voting, and is distributed among the Employee Industrial Partners, in relation to the length of their service. These consist of all employees other than the Managerial Industrial Partners who have been over three years with the company. All employees who have been with the company long enough to have become thoroughly identified with it thus share in the profits of the company.

The first preferred stock pays dividends at the rate of 8 per cent; the second preferred stock at the rate of 7 per cent; and, after these dividends have been paid, one-half of the remaining net profits is distributed as dividends to the holders of Industrial Partnership Stock, not to exceed 20 per cent in any year; the remaining net profits are distributed in the form of stock, two-thirds to the Managerial and one-third to the Employee Industrial Partners.

### **Rochdale Co-operative System**

The American Federation of Labor declares for the Rochdale System, in which distributive co-operation precedes productive co-operation. Other features are that current interest is paid on loan capital; no voting by proxy; one vote for each

member with equality in share ownership; rejection of the principle of profits; sales where possible, preferably to members only.

### The Golden Rule in Business

Extracts from a pamphlet by Arthur Nash, of Cincinnati:

"With my associates in the company, I decided, faintheartedly at first, that we would give the Golden Rule a trial in our industry. . . . After we put this divine law into operation in our factory I had a feeling that there was something sacred about our plant every time I entered it; now I know this is true. . . . It has eliminated all labor troubles during the most trying industrial period of the world's history. . . . During the year of strikes the A. Nash Company had no strikes. During the year of non-production the A. Nash Company increased their production over 1,000 per cent. During the year of high prices the A. Nash Company manufactured to order suits and overcoats to retail at from \$16.50 to \$29.

"While our factory is not unionized, we have the support and confidence of all the union people of Cincinnati. . . . The skilled labor, like the cutters and the off-pressers, who were making from \$75 to \$90 per week, signed a petition that the poorest paid help should receive the same dividend that they did. . . .

"I am not advocating profit-sharing as a solution of the capital and labor question, much less as *the* solution . . . and I want to condemn with all the force at my command the system of profit-sharing that has for its motive the erection of a barrier against trade unionism. . . . The ultimate solution of the industrial problem lies in co-operation and co-ownership, which can come about only by the establishment of the infallible humanitarian religion set forth in the Golden Rule."

While not wishing to be critical of an employer who has shown consideration for his employees, we could not believe that Mr. Nash was correct in claiming the support of all unions in Cincinnati; so we consulted the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and found that they are opposed to the Nash Golden Rule plan as to all other company unions. They assert positively that the Nash Company pays less than union wages; that applicants are required to sign an agreement not to join the Amalgamated, and that union workers are discharged; that children under age

are employed for \$9 a week without working certificates; that no overtime is paid for, though required; that five minutes' tardiness is punished by docking of an hour's pay; and that workers are forced to sign resolutions presented by foremen.

We wrote to the Nash Company asking for an explanation, but received no reply.

Profit-sharing is voluntary with Mr. Nash. His recent gift of \$600,000 to employees was dependent upon their buying stock of an equal amount.

In response to a request for a list of all establishments with profit-sharing plans, the U. S. Department of Labor sent, in August, 1924, the names of only 104 concerns.

### **Entrepreneur**

One who promotes and manages business enterprises, usually supplying some of the capital and claiming a profit as the reward of "efficiency," "foresight" or "risk." He is generally distinguished from the inactive stockholder who supplies only capital, and from the mere employed manager. He tends to disappear in well established corporations.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Evolution**

Evolution is the theory that the cosmos itself and the various types of plants and animals (including Man) existing therein have developed by descent, with modification, from other pre-existing types, as opposed to the old or "fundamentalist" theory of the separate creation of each species. This involves the principle that, in general, the progress of evolution has been from the simpler toward the more highly organized and specialized types, though the general process of orderly, progressive transformation is in many cases interrupted by sudden mutations, or accompanied by examples of retrograde evolution, degeneration, or reversion to a simpler type.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY,

*President, The Science League of America.*

### **Fabianism**

Fabianism is the method of bringing about social revolution through the education of public opinion. The Fabian Society was founded in London in 1883 by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, E. R. Pease and other sociologists who have since become famous. George Bernard Shaw joined it during the first year.



Its aim was "the reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities." The name was taken from Roman History. "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain, fruitless."

In 1914, the basis was changed to read, "The Fabian Society consists of Socialists. It therefore aims at the reorganization of Society by emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit."

The Fabian Club of Boston, which was founded by George Grover Mills, in 1915, adopted a similar basis and conducted educational and social meetings.

LOUISE ADAMS FLOYD.

### The Farm Problem

America is passing through an era of struggle with economic forces, so far as the farmers are concerned. The American farmer has always been something different from the peasantry of the Old World. This difference grew out of the existence of a frontier just beyond which was either free land or land practically free. The same forces which have reduced the agriculturist to the status of either a serf or a peasant just above that status are at work on the American farmer. The fundamental cause is the disappearance of free land. Financial deflation, high freight rates, prices kept up through combinations of manufacturers appear on the surface as causes of his sufferings: but they are not real causes of it. If all those evils were completely removed their removal would only add to land values, and the farmer's condition would be only temporarily bettered.

The writer has dealt with this subject more fully elsewhere (*The Real Trouble With the Farmers*, Bobbs-Merrill, \$2.00). I can here only call attention to the fact that the great necessary of life to the farmer is land. No more astounding error exists than the notion so prevalent that increasing land values are beneficial to the farmer. It is as absurd as to say that rising prices of food are good for eaters in a period of scarcity. The price of land is exacted of the farmer before he can produce or live. It will be noted that the farmers have been in the worst condition in the past few years in those regions where land has had a

boom in price. In very fertile, easily-cultivated regions land has gone up in price to \$300, \$400, \$500 and in places where profitable specialties are produced, even to \$1,000 and more per acre.

This puts farming out of the reach of the poor man save as a tenant. And along with this boom in land values—now suffering a slump which is only temporary—goes an ominous increase in tenantry. The American farm tenant is in many respects lower in status than the peasantry of Europe before the war. He is much lower fundamentally than the European peasants who have gained title to their lands in the war period. No American farmers have been for many years as well off fundamentally as those of Denmark. This growth of American tenantry has a sinister social effect in that it sifts the farm population, sending the more intelligent and enterprising to the cities, and leaving the others on the farms. It is the end of America if it goes on, as we have conceived America.

The remedy lies in cheaper land. We must restore the frontier, not only where it used to be, but everywhere—the frontier of cheap land. We can do this by making everything tax-exempt except land values. We can take land values justly because they are created by society. When we do this, we shall do the same in cities, too, but we are not considering these. Land is the first necessary of life. Let us make it cheap by taking its value for public uses. Let us cease to fine men for making improvements. Let us make what man produces tax-free. Unless we do this we shall build up an oppressed and landless peasantry on our farms which will one day join with the proletariat of the cities to plunge our civilization into that ruin which it will deserve.

HERBERT QUICK.

The editor contends that when land values are made to bear the burden already imposed, and in addition provide the funds now obtained from customs and income taxes, land owners will be unable to retain their land which will all be confiscated by the government and then rented at many times the present rentals in order to provide revenues to maintain the federal and local governments. Or, if land is still privately owned and all revenue is derived from a tax thereon, farm lands will have to pay higher taxes than they do now.

Elimination of the profits of middlemen and speculators, stabilization of the prices of farm products and producers' co-operation, are among the other remedies suggested for the relief of farmers.

W. F.

### **Fascism**

Fascism was, originally, an expression of the post-war restlessness of the demobilized *arditi* or shock-troops, directed into organized channels by ex-nationalist and ex-syndicalist leaders imbued with the doctrines of direct-action and Sorelian violence and inspired by a negative patriotism, for the purpose of nationalizing aliens, destroying Socialism, curtailing the secular influence of the church, uprooting pacifism, and—by making use of the discontented middle-class elements—creating an efficient and strong Italy. In the agrarian districts it adopted a program of land-subdivision and built up its labor corporazioni on a patriotic appeal for co-operation between capital and labor and it proposes to make Italy supreme in the Mediterranean. The militarily-organized March on Rome of the black-shirts began on October 28, 1922, and on October 30 Benito Mussolini was made premier of Italy and soon after invested with dictatorial powers.

CARLETON BEALS.

### **The Feminist Movement (Feminism)**

Because all over the world women are still subject to special codes of law and custom limiting their opportunities to cultural and economic growth, women are struggling to overcome and to eliminate these obstructions to their development. The greatest advance in Feminism has taken place in Northern European Countries, England, Czechoslovak Republic, Russia, Austria and in the United States. In these countries women participate in political, social and educational life.

No professions in the United States are closed to women, but custom militates against their reaching the highest positions. They engage in all kinds of business. While women are entering virtually every trade in increasing proportions, many states still prohibit their employment in certain industries.

Women contribute to every branch of social and physical science, both as teachers and research workers, and to all the arts and crafts. In a much smaller proportion than men, they teach in technical and professional schools.

Five women have held seats in the U. S. House of Representatives. Two have been elected governors, and more than 100 have served in the State legislatures. One is a justice of a State supreme court. They have been elected to virtually every State and local office. None have been elected to the U. S. Senate, appointed to the cabinet, or to the Supreme Court of the United States, or to diplomatic posts.

Long before women won the ballot in the United States (1919) they worked to supplant the old English Common law which made married women wards of their husbands. New feminists are urging the removal of all legal discriminations against women, demanding equal guardianship of children, equal responsibility for children born out of wedlock, equal control of services and earnings, and equal rights in every respect, including the recognition of the legal rights of the married woman to retain her own name.

Birth control is urged by many feminists as essential to women's complete emancipation.

The Feminist Movement is the expression of both individual and collective effort of women to participate fully and freely in all human activities. Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were the pioneers in the United States.

LUCY GWYNNE BRANHAM.

### Foundations

The Russell Sage Foundation has published a description of 79 Foundations and 51 Community Trusts in the United States (30 cents). These associations endowed by wealthy individuals have accomplished much in the field of medical research and in the elimination of disease, and somewhat in the reduction of the social evil and the advancement of learning, but there is another side to their activities that is shown by the following comments of expert investigators.

Extract from an article by Frank P. Walsh, "Perilous Philanthropy," in "The Independent," Aug. 23, 1915.

"Even if the great charitable and philanthropic trusts should confine their work to the field of science, where temperament, point of view and economic theory cannot enter, many of us still feel that this was work for the state, and that even in the power to do good, no one man, or group of men, should hold the monopoly."

"Mr. Rockefeller is taking money obtained from the toil of thousands of poorly nourished socially submerged men, women

and children, and spending these sums through a board of personal employes in such fashion, that his estate is in a fair way not only to exercise a dominating influence in industry, but, before many years, to exact a tribute of loyalty and subserviency from the whole profession of scientists, social workers and economists.

"There are literally thousands of men in these professions receiving subsidies either directly or indirectly from the Rockefeller estate, who cannot take any step toward effective economic, social and industrial reform without running directly counter to the interests of their benefactors."

Extracts from the Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915.

"Two groups of the 'foundations,' namely, the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, together have funds amounting to at least \$250,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of at least \$13,500,000, which is at least twice as great as the appropriations of the Federal Government for similar purposes, namely, education and social service.

"The funds of these foundations are largely invested in securities of corporations dominant in American industry, whose position has been analyzed under the early headings of this section. The policies of these foundations must inevitably be colored, if not controlled, to conform to the policies of such corporations.

"The funds of the foundations represent largely the results either of the exploitation of American workers through the payment of low wages or of the exploitation of the American public through the exaction of high prices. The funds, therefore, by every right belong to the American people.

"The charters of these foundations, with their almost unlimited powers, were granted under conditions of such laxity that it has been testified by an eminent legal authority who made an extensive investigation that those granted by New York State are legally defective and unconstitutional.

"The entrance of the foundations into the field of industrial relations, through the creation of a special division by the Rockefeller Foundation, constitutes a menace to the national welfare to which the attention not only of Congress but of the entire country should be directed. Backed by the \$100,000,000 of the Rockefeller Foundation, this movement has the power to influence the entire country in the determination of its most vital policy.



"The documentary evidence in the possession of the commission indicates: (a) That the so-called 'investigation of industrial relations' has not, as is claimed, either a scientific or a social basis, but originated to promote the industrial interests of Mr. Rockefeller. (b) That the investigation forms part of what Mr. Rockefeller, in a letter to Mr. Ivy L. Lee (the press agent of the Colorado operators), called the 'union educational campaign,' which is referred to by Mr. Bowers as 'the fight for the open shop,' the results of which are clearly manifested in the conditions existing in the camps of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., conducted on the 'open-shop' principle. (c) That Mr. Rockefeller planned to utilize in this campaign literature containing statements which were known to him at the time to be untrue and misleading (as, for example, the numerous misstatements in the 'Sermon to young men' of Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, including the statement that the Colorado operators offered to recognize the miners' union. . . ) (d) That the investigation of industrial relations is not being made in good faith, inasmuch as its director states that he will not now nor hereafter make public his findings regarding a most important part of his investigation, namely, the investigation in Colorado.

"The purpose of Mr. Rockefeller to influence the public press is clearly shown by the employment of an experienced publicity expert as a member of his personal staff, and is indicated by his evident interest in the ownership or control of a number of publications.

"The extent of the possible influence of these foundations and private endowments of institutions for education and public service is shown by a large amount of evidence in the possession of the commission. The following examples may be cited:

"(a) The adoption of a definite line of policy by the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York to meet the conditions imposed by Mr. Rockefeller in connection with proposed contributions.

"(b) The abandonment by several colleges and universities of sectarian affiliation and charter clauses relating to religion in order to secure endowments from the Carnegie Corporation and pensions for professors from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. It would seem conclusive that if an institution will willingly abandon its religious affiliations through

the influence of these foundations, it will even more easily conform to their will any other part of its organization or teaching.

\* \* \* \* \*

"As regards the 'foundations' created for unlimited general purposes and endowed with enormous resources, their ultimate possibilities are so grave a menace, not only as regards their own activities and influence but also the benumbing effect which they have on private citizens and public bodies, that if they could be clearly differentiated from other forms of voluntary altruistic effort it would be desirable to recommend their abolition."

Senator LaFollette said, in January, 1925; "Professors and instructors want to share in the pension funds which the Private Monopoly System is providing for those who do not offend it in their teaching, or better and surer for those who teach its creed. Look to it, you Regents and Trustees of these institutions, and you will find your faculty in the lecture rooms are very generally teaching to our youth the distorted and lop-sided doctrines most agreeable to the bosses of the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations and the Trust Magnates of Wall Street."

Extracts from editorial by Edward T. Devine on the Charter of Incorporation of the Rockefeller Foundation, appearing in the "Survey" of March 5, 1910:

"The brutal power of concentrated wealth, even when embodied in a philanthropic foundation, may not always work on the side of the real public welfare. Whether they are to be benefactions in any true sense depends upon the wisdom, breadth of sympathy, freedom from class prejudice, and efficiency of administration residing in their trustees and staff. . . The admirably administered Carnegie Relief Fund is undoubtedly a factor, whether for good or ill depends upon the point of view, in the working out of the industrial relations between steel workers and the steel corporation.

"The personal property and funds of the Foundation are to be exempt from taxation. Assuming that the endowment yields four per cent and is all productive, and that ordinary taxation absorbs annually one and a third per cent of the value of the property, this means that taxpayers who are not exempt are furnishing annually in perpetuity one-third of the resources of the Foundation."

### **Freethinker**

A Freethinker is one who is not guided in the formation of his beliefs by obedience to authority, but submits the claim of

authority to reason as the final arbiter. The term is generally applied to those who occupy a rationalistic position in regard to current religious beliefs and dogmas. Freethinkers classify Christianity with other supernatural religions largely because the Higher Criticism has proved that the Bible is not the inspired Word of God. See "Age of Reason," by Thomas Paine (1793); "The Bible" and "The Christ" by John Remsburg, The Truth Seeker, 49 Vesey Street, New York City.

**Free Trade**—See Tariff, also index.

### **Fundamentalists**

Fundamentalists are those religious people who accept literally the traditions of the churches and doctrines of their creeds and confessions of faith, often opposing evolution as the theory of creation.

### **God**

One of the changes in the progressive world is a new conception of the deity, shown by the following observations of prominent people:

"No scientific man of any rank can be found who believes in the preposterous God or gods of the Old Testament. The story of creation as told in Genesis was shot to pieces by Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Newton and Laplace, the great astronomers, by Lyell and the science of geology, by Darwin and the science of biology.

"As Spinoza says 'God became indeed the sanctuary of ignorance,' and the words of Bacon were seen by all thinking men to be profoundly true: 'A little philosophy inclineth a man to belief in the gods, but depth of philosophy leads to their rejection as a false and useless hypothesis.'

"Thinking brought gods into the world, all made in the image of man. Adequate thinking and the scientific method has carried them out again and placed them in the museums of the antique and obsolete."

JUDGE J. H. RYCKMAN.

"Although much alteration and a thorough revision of the idea is needed, the term God has an important scientific connotation."

JULIAN HUXLEY.

"Religion may be defined as the belief that the powers which control the world around us—that is, Nature—are interested in man, and are concerned in enforcing the rules of his morality by punishing infractions of these rules."

PROF. E. W. MCBRIDE.

God, if there be any essence in the Universe that can be called by so personal a name, must be the Ultimate, the Self-Originating Source, and is no doubt adequately described in the terms of the Mystics by his seven inescapable attributes. He is Life; Light, or on our plane, Wisdom; Love, or Harmony; Power; Peace; Beauty; Joy. But if one attempts to describe God in terms of the human individual, God can be no other than the experienceable Universe. Every man knows as much of God as he is capable of experiencing; no more, no less. Half the religious difficulties of the world arise out of a mistaken insistence that God can be only what we experience, the way *we* experience it. The other half arise out of an equally erroneous insistence that religion can only be the methods and practices by which *we* achieve that experience. Something of that fundamental error is behind all such efforts as this to discover religion through definition. What the inquirer is usually looking for is a definition which will make his own practice appear as the norm of religious experience, if not the sole and exclusive truth. But in fact there are as many ways of experiencing God as there are souls to experience Him, and *a* religion can be nothing but the sum of the methods and beliefs by which the soul's traffic with God is prospered.

That mankind should be found with fairly unified methods of approaching God is due to the general unity of their experience, which again is owing rather to the general likenesses among men than to the superior authenticity of a particular way of seeking God or knowing him when found. The great mistake which the Christian Church made was to assume that nobody ever found God but themselves. It was at that point that they began to lose Him. For whoever can not recognize God in his brother's experience is confessing that he himself knows so little of God as to be completely a stranger to Him in any other guise. And whoever can not find the element of rightness in his brother's approach to God has lost the touchstone to authenticity in his own. The real business of an

authentic practice of the Presence of God is to encourage the greatest variety of approach, and the most meticulous comparison of methods and results. An element which appears in one religion only is much less likely to be true than one which is found appearing spontaneously in many religions among widely differing types of men. The hopeful procedure then, is not to attempt to locate God by drawing a definition around Him, or even by the collection and comparison of definitions, but by the comparison of authentic experiences.

MARY AUSTIN.

My god is the law by which the triune matter-force-motion reality co-exists and co-operates in the evolutionary and devolutionary processes by which the universe is what it is at any time.

The gods of the supernaturalistic interpretations of religion are not realities, but at best poetic symbols of this all-inclusive reality or else prosaic superstitions.

In the Christian trinity, God, the Father, symbolizes matter; God, the Son, symbolizes force which proceeds from matter, and God, the Spirit, symbolizes motion which proceeds from matter and force.

My destroyer-god is ignorance of the facts and truths which are necessary to the making of the most of life. The devils of the redemptive interpretations of religion are symbols of this god.

My saviour-god is the knowledge of such facts and truths. The christs of the redemptive interpretations of religion are symbols of this god.

A fact is the doing of nature and there are no other facts.

A truth is such a fact so interpreted that if regarded in conduct it will tend to make the most of life by having it as long and happy as possible.

BISHOP WM. MONTGOMERY BROWN.

God is that spirit of love which appears when just men foregather to serve the world.

To join hands and hearts in a work of sacrifice for justice, peace and brotherhood upon the earth, is to be lifted up to the measure of our task by a fervor greater than ourselves. This fervor is God. Our fellowship for high ends has disclosed



him to our souls. It has *created* him. The Divine, latent in nature, has awakened in human nature the love of men who consecrate their lives to service.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

### Guernsey Market Plan

A building was erected in St. Peter Parish, Island Guernsey, without borrowing money and paying interest. Public spirited citizens made preliminary arrangements and proposed issuing bonds and making a loan of \$22,000 in London or Paris.

The governor asked why pay interest to city bankers when they had all the material and men who were glad to do the work. He issued script for the amount in convenient denominations, redeemable in stall rents, which were taken for labor and materials and circulated the same as money. When all were redeemed a public demonstration was made in the square, the script burnt, bands played and Governor De L. Isle Brock made a speech that is good history.

He turned the market house over as public property saying it was as good as if built through borrowed gold and that it paid for itself. The booklet makes the application for all public utilities, homes, roads; in fact, it is a simple, comprehensive, honest money system that can be used anywhere by willing co-operators and needs no legislation.

Industries and merchants have used it as well as some cities. Henry Ford and Edison's plan to finance Muscle Shoals is said to have been suggested by the booklet. Universally adopted, equity and justice would have prospects of realization.

JOHN G. ZOOK.

(See "The Guernsey Market House" by John G. Zook, Lititz, Pa.—10c.)

### Guild Socialism

Guild Socialism is an attempt to combine the good points found in the more orthodox schools with those urged by the syndicalists. Roughly speaking, guild socialism advocated that the title to industry be placed in the hands of the state or community but that industry be democratically managed by guilds of workers by hand and brain.

The guild unit would be the national guild highly decentralized. Some guildsmen believe that the final sovereignty should remain in the State; some would eliminate the State as such and set up communes composed of representatives of

producers and consumers. The interest of consumers would be safeguarded under guild socialism by giving to them the power to tax the guilds and perhaps to fix prices and determine the quantity of goods that ought to be procured.

### HERESY TRIALS

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Charles Augustus Briggs** was tried for heresy by the Presbytery of New York in 1892 because of statements in an address at Union Theological Seminary where he was a professor.

Among his alleged heresies was cited disbelief in the inerrancy of the Holy Scriptures, and Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch. He was acquitted, but, on appeal to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, was condemned and suspended. In 1899 he was ordained a priest of the Episcopal Church.

**Algernon S. Crapsey**—On the evening of February 19, 1905, in St. Andrew's Church, Rochester, N. Y., Algernon Sidney Crapsey, in a sermon lecture, used the following words:

"In the light of scientific research the founder of Christianity, Jesus, the Son of Joseph, was born as we are born, died as we die . . . the story of his miraculous birth was unknown to himself, unknown to his mother and unknown to the whole Christian community."

For using these words Dr. Crapsey was delated for teaching contrary to the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church by the standing committee of the Diocese of Western New York. He was tried on that charge in the City of Batavia, April 27-28-29, 1906. He was convicted in that court and sentenced to suspension until he should assure his bishop of the soundness of his views.

Dr. Crapsey appealed from this decision to the Court of Review, which confirmed the decree of the lower court, November 16. Dr. Crapsey then renounced the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in a letter dated November 26, 1906.

**William Montgomery Brown**—On May 27-31, 1924, Bishop William Montgomery Brown, formerly Bishop of Arkansas, was tried before a court composed of eight Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church held in Cleveland, Ohio. The charge was of holding and teaching doctrine contrary to that held by the Episcopal Church, as evidenced by passages in Bishop Brown's book, "Communism and Christianity."

Among the paragraphs specified were the following:

"There is no reason for believing that any one among the gods of the four old supernaturalistic interpretations of religion (Jehovah, Jesus, Allah, Buddha), or that either of the gods of the two new interpretations by the renowned physicist, Sir Oliver Lodge, and the distinguished sociologist, H. G. Wells, has had more to do with creating, sustaining and governing this world than another; that is to say, there is no ground for believing that the personal, conscious gods in the skies, either individually or collectively, have had anything at all to do with it. . . . If you ask whether I am still a professing Christian, I shall answer: yes; yet the Brother Jesus of the New Testament, Catholic creed and Protestant confessions is not for me an historical personage, but only a symbol of all that is for the good of the world, even as the Uncle Sam of American literature is not an historical personage but only a symbol of all which is for the good of the United States."

The court excluded evidence to prove what the doctrine of the Church was, saying it was all contained in the Prayer Book.

A unanimous decision of guilty was rendered and the defendant appealed to the Court for the Review of the Trial of a Bishop which, in January, 1925, deposed Bishop Brown "from the sacred ministry." The case will soon come before the House of Bishops for final action.

**George E. Hunt**—"*He believes and teaches evolution.*" This was the characteristic of the preaching of Rev. Dr. George E. Hunt, of Christ Presbyterian Church, in Madison, Wis., which in the summer of 1924, led to his trial for heresy.

A letter by Dr. Hunt in a Madison paper protesting against the ousting of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City precipitated the attack.

Besides teaching evolution, other specific charges against Dr. Hunt were: Not believing in the scriptures as the word of God, according to his ordination vows; Not believing in the Virgin birth of Christ; Not believing in creation "as given in Genesis"; and in short, not believing in the Westminster Confession of faith.

Besides, it was declared that he signed an affirmation against the ruling of the supreme court, The General Assembly. The trial went lame from the outset, one after another the

ministers and laymen refused to preside and it finally went forward with a temporary chairman. A motion to exclude the public was overwhelmingly defeated. Dr. Hunt put in no defense, but, after hearing all the evidence in support of the charges, it was voted to dismiss them.

Only four out of the forty-eight delegates voted to sustain the charges.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

### **Higher Criticism**

Higher Criticism is the scientific examination of the Bible that has disclosed many discrepancies and contradictions. The Higher Critic renounces important orthodox doctrines and admits that some portions of the Scriptures are not the inspired Word of God, but usually clings to Christianity as a whole and to the Bible as an authentic document of revealed religion.

See "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology," by Andrew D. White.

### **Immigration**

The immigration law of May 15, 1924, limits the quota of aliens admissible from each country to 2 per cent of the persons born in that country who resided here in 1890, instead of 3 per cent of those here in 1910. This change was made to increase the proportion of Nordics. Japanese, Chinese and other yellow races are entirely excluded, while blacks are admitted in small numbers. In the year ended June 30, 1924, 10,114 persons were turned back after arriving at Ellis Island. Under the new law the Labor Department issues only enough certificates to cover the quota, so during the six months ending December 31, 1924, only 4,448 were turned back after arrival, the number admitted being 147,347. In 1914, 1,218,480 immigrants entered. In the fiscal year 1924 there was a net inflow of foreigners of 662,557.

Organized labor opposes unrestricted immigration. Capitalists desire cheap foreign labor but fear an influx of bolshevists. Radicals believe the world should be free for all to move about in as they see fit.

### **Industrial Democracy**

A social order under which the mass of the people control democratically their own industrial life. It is a general term,

which includes ownership and operation of industry by public agencies—local and federal—and by voluntary co-operative groups of producers and consumers.

It presupposes a system of administration which will give adequate representation on boards of control to the workers, technicians and consumers.

During the war many employers described their plans for joint representation of employers and workers on boards of directors or advisory committees in private corporations as experiments in "industrial democracy."

Most of these schemes, however, were more paternalistic than democratic, and failed to give the workers real power of decision over the vital problems affecting them. They were, for the most part, dropped following the war when labor had become less scarce, and in their place came the "open shop," anti-union drive. A few experiments of interest, however, as in the textile industry of Wappinger Falls and the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis, survived. To have real "industrial democracy" all of the productive workers of the country must have a full opportunity to participate in the ownership and control of industry.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Industrialism**

A general designation for the present stage of industry in this country where large scale enterprise is conducted for profit; where populations crowd into large cities and where material, rather than aesthetic and spiritual values, have first place in social life.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Injunction**

A court order issued for the purpose of preventing a person from doing specific acts. In labor disputes it has been issued extensively since 1894, in an effort to prevent strikers from picketing, boycotting or doing other acts calculated to win a strike. Before an injunction is issued, the applicant should prove to the satisfaction of the judge that failure to issue it would result in injury to property or to person that could not be repaired, and for which an action for damages would bring no adequate remedy. (Also see index.)

HARRY W. LAIDLER.



### Initiative, Referendum and Recall

During the past generation or more many devices have been urged for giving the people a more direct part in the determination of policies of their local, state and national governments. The chief of these devices have been the initiative, referendum and recall.

The initiative is a device whereby the people of a community may originate legislation and bring it before the legislature or the people for their consideration.

Initiatives are of two kinds, direct and indirect. Under a direct initiative, a popular vote is secured for a measure proposed without giving the legislative body an opportunity to pass upon it. Under an indirect initiative, on the other hand, the measure proposed by popular action is first brought before the legislature before it is submitted to the people.

Under the indirect form, those people of a locality, state or nation, who desire a certain piece of legislation, sign a petition asking the legislature to pass the bill. The number required to sign the petition varies in different states (it is often 10% to 15% of those voting at the preceding election). The petition is accompanied with a copy of the desired bill.

When it is presented to the legislative body, the bill must follow the regular course prescribed by law. If passed and approved, it becomes a law. If rejected, it must be referred to the people for their consideration at the next election or a special election. The legislature, if it desires, can also submit to the people a substitute measure to be voted for at the same time. The bill must be advertised substantially as in the case of amendments to the constitution.

A referendum provides for the submission of a measure passed by a legislative body to a popular vote before it becomes a law.

Referenda are of two kinds, compulsory and optional. Under a compulsory referendum—as in the case of an amendment to the constitution—submission to the people is mandatory. This is not the case with the optional referendum, which applies to the ordinary laws by the legislature. Under the referendum, a petition, signed by the requisite number of citizens, must be filed with the proper authority within a limited number of days after the passage of the bill objected to, during

which time all bills of the class to which the "referendum" is applicable, must remain in suspense. The bill objected to must thereupon be submitted to the people at the next election or at a special election. If any bill submitted receives a majority of the votes cast at the election it becomes a law; otherwise it fails. Sometimes briefs for and against bills are submitted to the people with the text of the bills.

The third democratic safeguard is the recall. Under this measure the question of continuing a certain officer in power may be submitted upon petition, to a popular vote. Upon an adverse vote, the officer ceases to occupy the office. A petition under the recall must name the officer affected and set forth the reasons for asking his recall. Upon the presentation of the petition, an election to fill the unexpired term must be held, either at the next election, or at a special election called for that purpose. The name of the officer proposed to be recalled is printed on the ballot as a candidate unless he withdraws it; other candidates may be nominated in the manner prescribed by law.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Intelligentsia**

(Pronounced with a hard g) A term applied to the portion of the population who have had the advantage (or disadvantage) of considerable academic training and who are usually engaged in some professional work primarily requiring mental as contrasted with physical labor.

### **Interchurch World Movement**

Several Christian denominations associated themselves together in 1918 to collect \$330,000,000 for their various activities. The expense of collections was criticized and collapse followed in 1920, when prominent parishes withdrew their support after the report made of the Steel Strike, which was favorable to labor and arraigned the U. S. Steel Corporation.

Rev. I. M. Haldeman, pastor of the First Baptist Church, New York City, published a pamphlet, "Why I am opposed to the Interchurch World Movement," in which the following objections are enlarged upon: It is "a socialistic, educational and ethical campaign . . . seeks to save society rather than the individual . . . contends our Lord came into the world to be an example to man . . . does not preach doctrine . . . too much oc-

cupied in righting the wrongs of this world to prepare men for that which is to come . . . seeks to make the world a better world in contradiction to the Son of God who says it is a doomed world and on the way as a system from bad to worse."

Rev. E. Victor Bigelow addressed the Boston Ministers Meeting on November 22, 1920, attacking the Interchurch report on the steel strike of 1919. In part he said:

"The Steel Corporation does not choose to do business with the American Federation of Labor. . . . I suspect that the men in charge of the U. S. Steel Corporation are as anxious for the welfare of its employees as are the members of our Interchurch Commission. . . . The Gary method enables the steel workers to get more pay without increasing the costs to the public. . . . When we can find a man like Mr. Gary who is strong enough to resist all labor union compulsions and can keep his corporation free to adjust wages and labor conditions to the highest standard in the world while keeping down the cost to the public, he is worth millions to us. . . . We cannot depend upon our Commission for the facts even though we paid them \$10,000 to get facts."

Judge Gary had this address printed in pamphlet form and widely distributed, but, in 1923, yielded to the popular demand for abandonment of the 12-hour day and other evils exposed by the Interchurch report.

### Internationals

The First International was formally launched in September, 1864, at a delegate meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, London, at which were present delegates representing English, French, German, and Italian working-class organizations, although some of the countries were represented only by emigrées resident in London or Paris. The new-born infant, which was destined to have a short but very stormy career, acquire a great reputation and a lasting place in history, and become beloved, hated and feared by many thousands all over the world, was called The International Association of Working Men. The conference at which the Association was organized was held under the auspices of radical English trade-unionists, although other elements participated. But Marx dominated the gathering.

The International Association of Working Men reflected, because it strove to combine, the most divergent tendencies then

current in the Socialist and Labor movement, and Marx's opinions prevailed, whenever they did, only after considerable opposition, sometimes only after an intense struggle. And sometimes they did not prevail at all. This happened very often in matters of theory. For Marx never insisted on conformity to his theoretical views.

And right here is perhaps the most interesting thing about the First International: Founded and led by Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism, it was *not* a Socialist organization, and was not meant to be. It was meant to be, and was, what its name implied—an International Working Men's Association. It was intended to give the working-class of the world an organization around which it could rally, and which could be of service to it in its struggle for emancipation. And since the labor movement of the world was not Socialist, the Working Men's Association could not be Socialist if it were to serve its purpose. But the labor movement of the world was groping its way toward Socialism; and the Association was meant to, and did, serve in helping those who groped in the dark to clearness of thought where confusion prevailed. The primary object was to make the working class class-conscious—to think and act as a class. And then, to make us realize that it has a great historic mission to perform; by its own emancipation from wage-slavery to abolish all class-privileges and thereby all slavery. This was clearly expressed in the preamble to the Constitution of the Association, which declared that:

"The emancipation of the working-class can only be accomplished by the working-class itself; the struggle for the emancipation of the working-class is *not* a struggle for class privileges or monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and for the destruction of *all* class rule."

But no sooner was the attempt to unite the working-class into one organization made, than the inherent difficulties of the task became apparent; and the history of the First International is chiefly interesting to us because it reveals and illustrates the problems inherent in international working-class organization, or even in national organization for that matter.

Nominally the First International existed for twelve years—from Sept. 28, 1864, until the 15th of July, 1876, when it was formally dissolved at a conference held in Philadelphia. Its real existence terminated, however, four years earlier, when, at its Congress held at The Hague, in September, 1872, it was decided to transfer its headquarters and seat of its General Council to New

York. During the eight years of its real existence its affairs were managed by its General Council, in London, under the able guidance of Karl Marx, and subject to the decisions of its annual congresses. The first of these congresses was held at Geneva, September, 1866; the second at Lausanne September, 1867; the third at Brussels, September, 1868; the fourth at Basel, 1869; the fifth at The Hague, September, 1872. There were no congresses held in 1870 or 1871 on account of the Franco-Prussian war and its aftermath of revolution and reaction.

Michael Bakounin, the well-known Russian anarchist-nihilist, joined the Association in 1869, and by 1872 he was in a fair way of converting it into an anarcho-insurrectionist organization. In this emergency the Marxian policy of tolerance was of no avail. The problem was immediate, pressing, and supremely practical. The war and the uprising of the Paris Commune had weakened the forces making for open organization and orderly class-struggle within the European labor movement. The star of Bakounin was in the ascendant, but Marx was still in control. Rather than give up the ship, Marx decided to beach her on the shore of the New World.

After the dissolution of the First International, there was no international organization of any kind in the labor movement until 1889, when a well-attended International Labor Congress was held at Paris (July 14-20), at the conclusion of which two of the speakers—Edouard Vaillant and Wilhelm Liebknecht—announced the birth of the "New International."

This was the beginning of the so-called Second International: Besides Vaillant and Liebknecht, there were present at this Congress the following, who have since become famous in the Socialist movement of the world and as leaders of the Second International: August Bebel, Victor Adler, George Plechanoff, Keir Hardie, Jules Guesde.

The launching of the Second International at a big congress was prophetic and characteristic—for most of its work, at least to outward appearances, was done at populous congresses which were held (up to the war) as follows: Brussels, Aug. 16-23, 1891; Zurich, Aug. 6-12, 1893; London, 1896; Paris, 1900; Amsterdam, 1904; Stuttgart, August, 1907; Copenhagen, August, 1910. There was also a special congress or conference to consider the question of war, at Basel in 1912. All of these congresses were very largely attended, were not only international but also inter-



racial in character, and were usually occasions of great public demonstrations and of festive character. Whereas the congresses of the First International were seldom attended by as many as a hundred delegates, representing perhaps a dozen nations. The Paris Congress at which the Second International was launched was attended by 395 delegates representing twenty countries. At subsequent congresses the attendance was still greater, reaching nearly 1,000 delegates, and the number of countries represented also increased steadily, so that at the later congresses every continent and every race was represented.

The early congresses of the Second International were reminiscent of the last congress of the First International, in that the anarchists appeared at these congresses and attempted to renew the fight where Marx and Bakounin left off. But the world had changed in the meantime to such an extent that the Marxists had an easy job not only in outrooting but in expelling them, without affecting in the slightest degree the strength of the movement. The main current of thought in the labor movement, at least in the great industrial countries of Europe, was Socialist. The Second International was, therefore, distinctly Socialist. A comparison of the debates and resolutions of its congresses with those of the First International clearly demonstrates this. The Socialist character of the Second International was also recognized formally in its "Constitution," by the two requirements prescribed for eligibility to "membership"—recognition of political action, designed to keep out the anarchists, and recognition of the *class-struggle*, designed to proclaim its socialist character and to warn off non-socialists.

The Second International, like the First, was first suspended and then broken up by war and revolution: The World War and the Russian Revolution. The Second International still nominally maintains its existence, and there is a new one—the Third or Communist—organized by those who split off the Second.

Assuming that we are living in a transition period—that neither the Second nor the Third are with us to stay—and desiring to form an organization which could function during such transition period until a really new international could be formed, some Marxists organized the so-called Vienna Union—officially, the Working Union of Socialist Parties—sometimes referred to as the Fourth International, and by its opponents, derisively, as the "Second-and-a-half." This International represented the aspira-

tions of the "left wing" of the present-day Socialist movement. Its leaders were men like Hilferding and Crispian in Germany, Adler and Bauer in Austria, Longuet in France. It proceeded upon a division of the non-communist Socialist movement into a formal "left" and "right" wing, represented formally by the existence of the Independent Socialist Party in Germany. When the two Socialist parties in Germany were reunited, the position of the Vienna Union became untenable, and the parties composing it rejoined the Second International. Whether that gave the Second a new lease of life remains to be seen.

The chief outward characteristic of the Third International is its centralization. This is a reversion to the organizational principle of the First—only carried to lengths undreamed of by Marx. As to the principle underlying the question of organization it is the exact opposite: whereas Marx sought the broadest possible basis within the labor movement, requiring practically no conformity whatever of social views, the Third International set up a set of rules of admission whereby applicant-parties are closely examined as to their social beliefs, and all non-conformists are rigidly excluded. Offenses are followed by severe disciplinary measures.

The Third International was organized in March, 1919, and has held annual congresses every year since then, and in addition its governing commissions have held numerous regular special meetings and conferences.

An important point of difference between the First and the Third International is the aim and purpose of the latter, which is declared to be the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is in direct and flagrant contrast to the first principle of the constitution of the First International, written by Marx, to the effect that "the struggle for the emancipation of the working class is *not* a struggle for class privileges."

Curiously enough, the Third International particularly prides itself on being the real heir of the First and the carrier of its policies and traditions as well as the particular repository of the true Marxian doctrine.

The Third International was organized by the Russian Bolshevik (Communist) Party and some fragments of Socialist parties in other countries because these ultra-radicals would not associate with the moderate Socialists of the Second International, whom the organizers of the Third considered little better than

open covert agents of the bourgeoisie. Their policy of exclusion therefore flowed naturally from their principle of organization. But this did not save them from the problem which confronted the First International under Marx's policy of inclusion. Except that this time the shoe pinched the other foot: Marx started out with a heterogeneous organization based on an all-inclusive policy, only to discover that if he wanted a real working organization he would have to narrow somewhat its basis and adopt some kind of limiting selective principle. The Russian Communists began with a Simon-pure organization, whose membership was very carefully sifted and selected, only to find that after this careful process of selection had been gone through there wasn't enough left to run a real International on. As a result they were soon compelled to turn-about-face and let in through a back door the very people whom they tried to keep from coming in by the front door. While still formally adhering to the policy of rigid exclusion of all non-conformists from the Third International, they were seeking working alliances with those thus excluded, and even with the alleged bourgeois agent because of whose presence they broke up the Second International. This they called the policy of the United Front. So far this policy has not succeeded—but only because the excluded refused to sit in with the excluders. At least that is the explanation given by the Communists themselves for the failure of this policy. Which simply proves that the rock upon which the First International foundered still stands there, menacing the existence of every International.

LOUIS B. BOUDIN.

### Internationalism

Internationalism—the body of principles which regards the interests of all nations as superior to the interests of any one national group. It differs from cosmopolitanism in that it is compatible with patriotism and with a broad nationalism, seeking not to obliterate distinctions of culture, but to render them supplementary to one another. Internationalism is essentially opposed to chauvinism and to selfish nationalism.

The term *Internationalism* may be used in a narrower sense to signify the principles of working class solidarity throughout the world as represented in the seventies by the International

Workingmen's association and at present by the Second and Third Internationals.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

See "A Study of International Government," by Jessie Wallace Hughan.

### **Knights of Labor**

A national labor organization founded in 1869, which came to its zenith in 1886 with a membership of about 700,000. It admitted to membership men and women of all crafts, skilled and unskilled, and went extensively into politics, co-operative ventures, etc. It was unable to compete against the trade unions organized under A. F. of L. auspices, and gradually declined in power and membership.

### **Ku Klux Klan**

The K. K. K. is an organization in the Southern States, composed of native born, Protestant, white, "100%" Americans, for the purpose of curtailing the influence of foreigners, Negroes, Catholics and Jews in American political and social life, and, incidentally, of bringing large sums of money to its promoters.

The modern Klan, known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was formed by William J. Simmons in 1915. It maintained for several years a precarious existence, but began a spectacular career in 1920 during the period of post-war confusion. It now boasts of over a million members.

The head of the promotion department is the "Imperial Kleagle"; the head of each "domain" is the "Grand Goblin"; and of each realm, the "King Kleagle." The house-to-house canvassers are mere Kleagles. The membership fee is \$10. Of this amount, \$4 goes to the Kleagle, \$1 to the King Kleagle, 50 cents to the Grand Goblin, and \$4.50 to Atlanta.

The organizing period was accompanied by many lawless acts. The New York World reported from October 1920 to October 1921, 4 killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-one floggings, twenty-seven tar and feather parties, five kidnappings, etc. They were administered during the night by people whose identity was concealed and as "punishments" for alleged violations of law or of good morals. The Klan has since taken an active part in the political life of several Southern and Western States. In Indiana, Ohio and Colorado its in-

fluence is said to be particularly strong. That influence, however, seems to be waning.

The appeal that has largely been used by Klan organizers has been the anti-Catholic appeal. In other sections, anti-Jewish and anti-Negro prejudice has been used largely "to sell" the idea, while white supremacy, purity of womanhood, etc., have been the most effective shibboleths. The masks and robes, the mystery of it all, the strong-armed methods used, and the pious phrases used to cover its real purpose, have all made a "powerful appeal to the petty impotence of the small town mind." With the passing of the post-war hysteria and the growing proof of the anti-social influence of the Klan on the psychological and the political life of the community, it is expected that it will gradually lose its influence as other organizations of its type have done.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Labor

Manual or mental exertion undertaken as a means of acquiring an income or obtaining wealth. A game of baseball involves exertion, but if undertaken for its own sake and not to secure a livelihood, it is not regarded as labor. Labor involves both manual and mental effort.

The word *labor* is also used to refer to that group in the population who are employed by owners of industry and whose income consists primarily of wages rather than of income from owned property. More and more the term is being broadened to include workers by brain as well as by hand, and agricultural as well as city bread-earners.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Labor Banking

The first labor bank in the United States was established in May, 1920—the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of Washington, D. C. In March, 1925, there were 22 in 13 states, with total resources of \$60,000,000.

Labor leaders like Sidney Hillman, William H. Johnston, Warren S. Stone and Peter Brady reached the conclusion that constant striving for shorter hours and more pay in itself was both unsound and uneconomic. The whole history of wages is one of wages ever mounting higher, yet seldom more than keeping pace with the cost of living. These labor leaders knew that the group which controls the credit resources of the country con-



trols the destiny of the country; hence the development of labor banks to take advantage of the vast savings bank deposits belonging to working people.

The features distinguishing labor banks from commercial banks are: Ownership and control by a labor union; limitation of dividends on invested capital; sharing of profits with depositors; small character loans to depositors, usually requiring two endorsers.

Information from LeRoy Peterson.

### **Labor Union**

A general term applying to any organization of labor which groups workers either according to craft or industry, for the purpose of improving their condition. (See Unions)

### **League of Nations (Pro)**

1. The United States has not been able to form any other association of nations.

2. The United States has found it both necessary and desirable to participate in the activities of the League.

3. Fifty-five nations—all except the United States, Germany, Russia, Mexico and a few very minor ones—are members of the League. Each of them is as jealous of its independence, traditions and influence as the United States. They accepted the Covenant without reservations. Amendments to the Covenant can be made; four are now in force.

4. The United States, by separate treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary, has claimed all rights and advantages under the treaties of peace, but has exercised its option only as to those portions which are still in debate. The Covenant of the League, while forming Part I of those treaties, functions separately from them, and is the only portion of them that has enjoyed an increasing prestige. The United States excepted that part from its engagement.

5. The fundamental engagements of the Covenant are those of peace. The United States is now participating or independently working for the realization of all of these. President Harding said that "we believe in respecting the rights of nations, in the value of conference and consultation." Entrance into the League means regular and automatic participation in the consultations and conferences of the League.

6. The League is the only instrument in the world working for limitation of armament. The effort of the United States to effect this has resulted in treaties of limited scope only. American failure to participate in the work of the League has prevented it from accomplishing what it could if the largest and strongest nation in the organized world were a party to its efforts. Despite this difficulty the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes was approved by the Fifth Assembly at Geneva, October 2, 1924, the object of which in the words of its author is:

"to facilitate the reduction and limitation of armaments provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations guaranteeing the security of States through the development of methods for the pacific settlement of all international disputes and the effective condemnation of aggressive war."

For the first time in an international document aggressive war has been branded as a crime.

7. As a matter of cold calculating business, the United States should enter the League if only for the promise it offers of rehabilitating Europe and restoring its markets to the World. The present prostration of our farming industry is plainly due to the poverty and confusion of Europe and its inability to purchase the food and clothing which it needs.

8. By joining the League we would not surrender in the least our national liberty, independence or sovereignty and we would be amply compensated for our obligations under the Covenant by the promise of enduring peace and the fruits of international co-operation secured through participation in all League activities.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION.

### **A radical's point of view on the League**

It is easy to see why the man who believes in an intense and exclusive nationalism should be skeptical of even the feeblest approach to internationalism. His opposition to the League of Nations is to be expected. What has aroused more comment is the attitude of those convinced internationalists who, believing that peace depends on world-wide co-operation and fearing not even the dread phrase, world government, nevertheless are opposed to America's joining the League of Nations on any terms so far brought into the realm of practical discussion. As

a matter of fact the position of these internationalists is realistic and easily explained.

Versailles saw the triumph of nationalism and imperialism. Its peace was both unjust and irrational. The one concession to such liberal idealism as existed during the war was the covenant of the League of Nations, but that covenant was an integral part of an unjust peace and so cleverly arranged that an effective League formed under it could be made to uphold an infamous peace. Even the idealism of the League smacked too much of the idealism of successful thieves who, having won the loot wanted to end robbery.

It is a matter of record that the United States, for reasons good and bad, did not join the League. Without the immense power of the United States to underwrite the League its usefulness to the imperialists seemed problematical and they turned to the Council of Ambassadors or to special conferences of premiers and foreign ministers to deal with the most difficult questions arising from the peace treaty. The enthusiasts were left to carry on the League. It was allowed to do pretty much as it pleased in matters where there was little conflict of interest between the principal allies, and was sometimes made the instrument of the powers in negotiations outside the chief fields of controversy. Thus the League, at the price of impotence in the matter of Allied intervention in Russia, the struggle for German reparations, the occupation of the Ruhr, the Greco-Turkish war, and the proper government of the Saar Valley, was enabled to develop into an international forum of some usefulness. If the United States had joined the League in 1919 it is far more likely that the League would have been made itself the instrument of adjusting the quarrels of the imperial powers, which were given a permanent majority in the Council. Under these circumstances the League would itself have been imperialistic or would have broken on the rocks of rival imperialisms.

Advocates of the League will hotly protest that the entrance of the United States would have made it truly international. There is no reason to assume anything of the sort. The United States is today imperialistic in its own thinking and conduct. Nor is its imperialism so enlightened as to serve as an automatic check on the imperialism of the other powers. Rather, divisions between them would have had a bitter reflec-

tion in our own domestic politics and we should have suffered even more than we did from pro- and anti-British, and French and Italian partisans.

Now that the League has survived its first few years there is a chance that it may be made into an important servant of internationalism. When British labor was in office and Herriot, the French radical, was stronger, that chance seemed rather brighter than it does today when conservatism is rampant in England and the old nationalism is raising its head in France. The failure of the opium conference somewhat diminishes the prestige of the League which sponsored it, as does also its helplessness in the Egyptian crisis. These things were not the fault of the League but show its helplessness when reaction is in the saddle in the stronger nations that control it.

If the League is to be a success it is necessary that the most powerful of the governments that work it should themselves be democratic, anti-imperialistic, and in sympathy with labor. The League should be all inclusive, should have power without unanimous consent to readjust treaties, or otherwise to make those changes in the status quo which are or will from time to time be necessary to maintain peace. It will have to face economic facts and the need for some kind of international control over necessary raw materials.

Not all these changes in the constitution and the nature of the League can be made at once, but it would be better educational philosophy and sounder political strategy for American advocates of the League to agree on minimum adjustments as the price of American entrance. Agitation based on this agreement would help to educate our own people as well as other nations. I should suggest that such minimum requirements might well be the admission of all nations to the League and a preliminary settlement of the question of reparations and debts. I think there ought also to be a clearer distinction between questions that are primarily European and questions that are genuinely of world-wide importance. In these days the Atlantic Ocean does not separate us from Europe. Nevertheless it is broader than the rivers or boundary lines which divide European nations, and some of Europe's problems ought to be worked out primarily by the neighboring states most closely involved. Our delay in joining the League has had a salutary

effect in emphasizing that fact. It must be made unmistakably clear that under present conditions we shall not entrust to the League the right to get us into war in Europe or anywhere else on the pretext of preserving peace or improving existing treaties.

To sum up: it is fortunate for the League and for us that the United States has not heretofore joined it. The time may come and may come soon when our country ought to join the League but the value of our joining the League will depend largely on the growth of an anti-imperialistic internationalism at home and a strengthening of the bonds between American workers and various shades of progressives and similar groups in other countries. Merely to urge our joining the League is not enough. Our membership would be no panacea. It might serve as a sort of an opiate to lull us into false security as to the price of peace.

NORMAN THOMAS.

### **Liberalism**

Liberalism in politics and industry has been variously defined. It is regarded by some as a school of thought favorable to measures of social reform that are calculated to ameliorate present day evils without interfering in any essential way with private ownership of industry. The word has also been used to indicate a belief in free and untrammelled discussion of social problems to the end that the ideas best fitted to prevail will win out. *The Freeman*, on the other hand, in distinguishing between liberalism and radicalism, described liberals as those who put their faith in change through political, as contrasted with "direct", action. Still others define liberals as a group who favor social reform measures, without having committed themselves for or against fundamental social change.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Lockout**

An employer's strike, or temporary closing down of industry, in an effort to force the workers to come to terms.

### **Marxian Socialism**

The Socialist philosophy promulgated by Karl Marx. The three foundation stones of Marxian socialism are the economic interpretation (or materialist conception) of history, the class struggle and surplus value.



The class struggle and the economic interpretation of history constitute the sociology of Marx. On the basis of these doctrines, Marx outlines the process by which socialism is to be attained and maintains that socialism is inevitable. The surplus value theory constitutes the economics of Marx. Marx's sociological theories have been far more widely accepted than his theory of value which certain socialists contend is an unessential part of the Marxian structure.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Middle Classes**

(1) Those persons whose income is derived in approximately equal shares from the ownership of capital and the sale of their labor-power. (2) Those persons who derive their income wholly or chiefly from the product of their independent labor, without the intervention of a capitalist employer. Under this classification come freehold farmers, with certain craftsmen and professional workers.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

### **Modernists**

Modernists are Christians who interpret the Scriptures liberally, yielding some of the tenets of their former faith due to the evidence of science and the Higher Criticism. Accepting evolution, they reconcile it with Genesis and claim that Christianity is in no wise impaired by the discoveries of recent years.

### **Molly Maguires**

Members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians who committed many outrages on individuals and property in the coal districts of Pennsylvania during the sixties and early seventies. In 1876, ten were sentenced to execution and fourteen to prison for from 2 to 7 years through the efforts of one, McParlan, who lived among them for several years to obtain evidence of crime.

### **Nationalization**

The transfer of industry from private ownership to ownership and control by the national government. Labor is increasingly demanding the nationalization of such industries as railroads, mines, etc., supplemented by democratic administration.

### **Nihilism**

The name applied to a small group of extreme anarchists and revolutionists in Russia during the Czarist regime who be-

lieved in the complete overthrow of all forms of the existing order and who, at times, preached the need for the assassination of high officials in the Russian government as one of the means of attaining these ends.

### **Non-resistance**

The literal fulfilment of the precept, "Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good." The non-resistant opposes all war, and sometimes also the strike and the boycott.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

Non-resistance means, on the negative side, the definite refusal to resist evil with other evil. But this does not mean refusal to resist evil! Rather does it mean, on the positive side, the lifting resistance to evil from the physical to the moral plane of action.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

### **Open Shop**

A shop where either union or non-union workers are employed, often together on the same conditions. In recent years the "open shop" has often been closed to union labor by employers who frequently organize a company union of their own men as a substitute for trade unionism. See Company Union.

"They want to treat labor as part of the raw materials of their factories, to be bought at their own price and used as they see fit. That is all there is to the organized campaign in behalf of the open shop."—N. Y. World, Nov. 18, 1920.

### **Opportunism**

A term applied to those groups who believe in taking advantage of every opportunity for promoting their own cause, though the step taken might be but a short one, and the line of advance to the ultimate social goal a devious one. Socialists who favored "immediate demands" in Socialist Party platforms have at times been described as "opportunists," and those desiring only an expression of the ultimate ideal, as "impossibilists."

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Outlawry of War**—See American Committee for Outlawry of War under Organizations.

### **Pacifism**

"The principles or policy of peace as opposed to militarism"—Standard Dictionary. In an extreme or absolute sense paci-

fism signifies a refusal to support war under any circumstances, as exemplified by certain of the conscientious objectors during the World War and by the War Resisters' International at present. In a more moderate sense pacifism may include such policies as disarmament, arbitration, and the League of Nations, with any other movements that tend to supplant war by the peaceful settlement of international differences. During the World War the word "pacifists" was used as a term of reproach. At present it seems to be coming back into respectability.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

Pacifism includes people of three main types, not mutually exclusive:

1. Those who, believing that war can be treated separately and eliminated, challenge the war system directly and would organize for peace. They have the crusading spirit, are for progressive or total disarmament and may or may not be non-resistants. Cf. National Council for Prevention of War; Women's Peace Society, etc.

2. Individuals who take a stand against capitalist, nationalist or all war, either on social or religious grounds, or both. Extreme individualists or extreme socialists. Cf. Conscientious Objectors, Debs, etc.

3. Those who advocate a philosophy of life based on the unity of the human family, the worth of personality and its capacity to respond to the dynamic of good-will. They repudiate the method of war and also many motives and methods in the industrial system and in race relations. Non-resistant. Would build the new society and let the old go. Cf. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends, etc.

PAUL JONES.

### Passive Resistance

The policy which refuses to use violence, but resists evil by means of non-co-operation and in some cases open disobedience. The passive resistant repudiates all war, but favors the strike and boycott under certain conditions.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

### Paternalism

A name applied to a practice of government under which those in power maintain the same sort of attitude towards the mass of the people that a father is supposed to hold toward his immature children. It was the attitude shown by the Kaiser

in Germany, before the revolution and at times that of Henry Ford toward his workers. Certain forms of state socialism which have failed to provide democratic administration have been condemned as paternalistic by both socialists and individualists.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Patriotism**

Patriotism, the love of and devotion to one's native land, is the largest social instinct as yet common to mankind. Those of us most grieved by the selfishness and cruelty of nations, with their frequent warfare, and most aroused by the vision of a world at peace, often see in patriotism only an incentive to war. Some even desire the obliteration of nationality, in the interests of a larger social consciousness embracing all the earth.

If we follow the course of social evolution, which is as natural a process as any form of development, we find that an ever enlarging field of government, with its increasing complexity of function, requires the maintenance of keen local interest.

A primitive monarchy may rule vast numbers of unrelated and heterogeneous people; but the conscious interaction of democracy is extended by federation. A federated world is the next legitimate step in political evolution, but it will be composed of distinct self-conscious nations, each attending to its own affairs and only acting together in matters of common importance. This common service will, in time, develop a world-patriotism greater than anything we now know.

The greater includes the less, it does not destroy it.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

"It took man 250,000 years to transcend the hunting pack. It will not take him so long to transcend the nation. . . . Patriotism, which was once a flame upon the altar, has become a world-devouring conflagration."

J. B. S. HALDANE.

Patriotism—what is it? A great Englishman of the 18th century defined it as the last refuge of a scoundrel. A great Englishman of today, Bertrand Russell, has lately called it the blackest crime of which a man can be guilty. It is a spurious patriotism, undeserving the name, that is thus condemned, the perversion that appears especially in time of war. Then it is

that love of country and hate of the enemy become identified in unreasoning minds.

One effect of the world War is the exaltation of nationalism. Loyalty to government is widely acclaimed as the supreme duty. The truth that "Above all nations is humanity," with its corollary that loyalty to wide human interests may require disobedience to one's government, how few perceive! The fact that humanity is a unity, one body of which the nations are severally members, injury to one inevitably meaning injury to all others, how few understand!

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

### Peonage

A system of compulsory labor enforced by means of keeping the worker in a state of indebtedness to the master. It is practised extensively in Latin America, and to an extent among the lumber and mining camps of the South.

### Picketing

The patrolling of avenues of approach to a "struck" shop for the purpose of inducing workers to refuse to work for the "unfair" employer. Picketing is legal in most of the states of the Union, where persuasion only is involved. Time and again, however, courts have held that picketing that involves even a possibility of coercion is illegal and can be enjoined.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Plumb Plan

See Organizations.

### Progressive

An advocate of continuous economic, political and social change to the end that the basis of social control may be increasingly broadened and the happiness and welfare of the mass of the people may be increasingly subverted.

### Proletariat

The wage-earning class in modern industry who have no share in the ownership of the tools with which they work and are dependent on the capitalist class for employment. Brain workers who receive a moderate salary are often referred to as members of the "intellectual proletariat." The individual member of the class of proletariat is known as a "proletarian."

HARRY W. LAIDLER.



**Proletarians—the Proletariat**

Those persons whose income is derived wholly or chiefly from the sale to an employer of their labor-power of hand or brain. The distinction between capitalist and proletarian depends not upon the amount of the income, nor upon the manual character of labor, but upon the sale of labor-power to a capitalist employer.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

**Proportional Representation**, see index.

**Protocol**

In labor parlance, the name of an agreement arrived at in 1910 between locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Cloak, Suit, Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association in New York City. Besides providing for certain working conditions, it organized a Board of Grievances and a Board of Arbitration with an impartial chairman. The agreement worked rather successfully until 1915, when the machinery broke down, and a new agreement was drawn up along somewhat different lines.

**Other Famous Protocols**

The documents discovered in Russia purporting to represent a plan for an organized attack by the Jews upon the rest of the world were called Protocols. These Protocols were never adopted by any recognized party or extensive group but represented the ideas of a few men in a small town. They formed the basis of Henry Ford's denunciation of the Jews in the Dearborn Independent.

The Geneva Protocol is a plan for international peace adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1924 but not ratified by the Council of the League. It proposes to establish compulsory arbitration, and defines as an aggressor nation one that resorts to war or refuses to submit a dispute to arbitration. It advises further disarmament. There is a difference of opinion as to whether it "outlaws" war, some believing that it recognizes war as legitimate if used by a combination of powers against an aggressor, especially as it does not establish law and legal justice in place of arms, but depends upon a massing of force.

**Psychic Research**

Psychic Research comprises the study of the phenomena of life and mind which are not amenable to the explanations

hitherto offered by psychology and biology, the so-called supernormal manifestations, beyond the range of chance co-incidence or of chemico-physical production minus the directive control or co-operation of intelligence. Such are dowsing for water and metals hidden in the earth, table-tipping and raps, hauntings, materializations, apparitions, supernormal photography, predictions and premonitions and monitions, co-incidental dreams, telepathy, clairaudience, clairvoyance, forms of automatism (such as ouija board, planchette and automatic handwriting.)

GERTRUDE OGDEN TUBBY.

### Psycho-analysis

A technique for psychologic investigation, and one which may be combined with a discipline for psychologic reconstruction. The differential essence of psycho-analysis is its dominant concern with the unconscious mentation and those unconscious determinants which come from out of our psychologic past, and which in the present measurably control our acts and conscious thought. However, such books may be otherwise illuminating even though not dealing with the unconscious psychologic determinants and mental mechanisms with which psycho-analysis is concerned. So far psycho-analysis has been used mainly for correcting functional disorders of the nervous system. Soon it will revolutionize our approach to education and all the social sciences.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

**Psycho-analysis**, originated by Freud in Vienna, is the science of the Unconscious. Psycho-analysis was applied first as a method of treatment for nervous disorders. It is more and more providing extensive interpretation of and contributions to anthropology, sociology, biography, history and ethics beside giving new insight into all art. As a factor in education it tends more and more to eliminate the loss to the individual of health and happiness, and the loss to society of culture, both of which may result from unsuccessful repressions.

**The Unconscious** includes both the impulses which are denied registry in consciousness or healthy civilized action, and the egoistic factors which force this denial or repression.

**A Constellation** includes the thoughts and impulses, with especial reference to those successfully repressed, which are connected with an idea. As for example, the Father Constella-

tion, all thoughts and impulses connected with the father, and a successfully accomplished relationship to him.

**A Complex** includes the thoughts and impulses, with especial reference to those unsuccessfully repressed, connected with an idea. Thus the Father Complex, all thoughts and impulses connected with the father and a painful relationship to him.

**The Oedipus Complex**, which has to do with the triangular situation of a child to the parents, is called the **Nuclear Complex**, because emerging from it and grouped about it, are the other complexes. By the especial method of reaction to this complex is determined the character of the normal individual and the kind of illness or maladaptation which the psychically unbalanced person unconsciously chooses.

**A Neurosis** is a miscarried repression, where the ego in its struggle to prevent expression of the instincts succeeds only in turning them aside into physical symptoms or incomplete and inharmonious expression.

**A Psychosis** is a miscarried resistance, the result of a conflict between the ego and the outer world, whereby the ego, refusing the reality to which it cannot adapt, puts phantasy into its place.

**Repression** refers to the unconscious effort of a certain part of the ego to prevent psychic registry or active expression of an impulse. That against which this action is directed is the **Repressed Material**.

**Resistance** is the unconscious effort to prevent stimuli from reaching the repressed material.

**Transference** is the later placing upon new objects of an emotion developed in an infantile situation in regard to the parents.

**Libido** is the energy which impels the separate parts of living matter toward each other. "A freely movable libido is necessary for **Health**." [Freud]

**Culture** consists in the successfully accomplished repression which enables the individual to remain healthy and at the same time devote a part of the energy of his instincts to social uses.

**Love** is the relation and adaptation, according to reality, of the individual to his environment and becomes therefore the

measure of his acceptance of life. Thus **Hate** and **Death** have a related connotation, as do **Love** and **Life**.

GRACE POTTER.

### **Public Defender**

An official employed by the State to defend indigent persons accused of crime, the assumption being that it is as much the function of the State to shield the innocent as to punish the guilty. The Public Defender presents a defendant's case more fairly and ably than a lawyer assigned by the court, and his services eliminate the distinction now existing between the rich and poor before the law. The office of Public Defender was established in Rome and other foreign countries, and is now in existence in several cities of the United States: Los Angeles, Denver, Atlanta, Minneapolis, etc. (See "The Public Defender" by Mayer C. Goldman.)

### **Radical**

A radical is one, as the derivation of the word implies, who tries to get at "the root" of a matter. In the labor movement a radical is generally regarded as an advocate of a fundamental change in social relations, aiming at the elimination of the cause of social injustice, rather than at a mere change of surface conditions. Since the war, upholders of things-as-they-are have been implying that a radical is one who believes in a violent overthrow.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Reactionary**

An extreme conservative; one who opposes social and economic innovation and who would force the wheels of progress backward.

**Recall**—See Initiative.

### **Red**

Red has been long used by socialist and communist movements of the world as their official color. It signifies to them the red blood that flows through the veins of all humanity, and unites mankind in one brotherhood. Members of the left wing of the socialist movement described themselves before the war as "red," and the more moderate group as "yellow."

Progressives and radicals of all descriptions have of late been classified as "reds" by reactionary government officials and others.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Referendum**—See Initiative.

### **Religion**

Religion is the spirit of love incarnate in human fellowship. It is the conscious association of man with man in the common service of the common life. It is the discovery of God in the creative work of human brotherhood.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The only element of unification between the diverse and often irreconcilable manifestations of religion is the religious temperament, that is to say, the psychologic factor. Likewise the differential essence of religion, or that which distinguishes the religious personality or temperament from the non-religious character or temperament must also be subjective, that is to say psychologic. I approach the definition of religion from this angle, and with the following result; The differential essence of religion is a psychologic experience, which is ecstatic in its nature, and is explained in terms of an alleged transcendental or super-human origin, and which experience certifies to the inerrancy of some associated dogma, and of the super-human potency of some ceremonial or ritual performance, all of which will then be rationalized in terms of metaphysics, or of theology.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

### **Revolution**

A fundamental change in social or political institutions.

**The American Revolution** (1775-1783) had for its object the securing of independence on the part of the American colonies from England. While the American Revolution can be attributed in part to the general spirit of protest of the colonists, and the individualistic economics of the new world, fundamentally it was a contest between the merchant and manufacturing class of England then dominating the British government and the merchant, land owner, doctor, manufacturing and other groups in America. The innumerable acts of Parliament (dating from the Navigation Acts, 1651) which aimed to compel the colonists to transport goods only in English ships, to import certain articles only from England, to export direct to England, to inhibit any plans colonists may have had to manufacture, were but attempts—though ineffective—to increase the profits of the British shipping, merchant and manufacturing interests, even at the expense of similar interest in the colonies.



It was when the growing commercial groups of America found their pecuniary interest attacked by rigid enforcement of regulations that the crisis came. The Sugar Act of 1746, which caused a serious loss to distillers, and, incidentally, to the farmers and the lumber, flour, salt meat and fish merchants and workmen of New England; the Stamp Act which perturbed the debtor class and the reduction of the tax on tea, all had their effects in arousing particular groups to protest.

There were, of course, other political complications, and many important idealistic impulses at work, but the foregoing economic factors, which led to the estrangement of certain of the merchant, land speculating, manufacturing and debtor classes, furnished an economic foundation sufficiently broad for the revolt.

**The French Revolution** shifted the basis of political control from the monarchical class to the bourgeoisie. It sounded the death knell of the feudal system. Its main cause was the development of trade and industry and the rapid increase in France in the numbers, wealth and influence of the bourgeoisie or middle class and their consequent demand for more control over political and social institutions.

The corruption and weakness of the monarchy, the terrible financial difficulties in which the country was involved, the intense suffering among the common people, the poor crops, the biting criticisms to which the ruling caste had been subjected by such French philosophers and writers as Voltaire and Rousseau and the corruption of the Church were all factors in bringing about the Revolution.

From October, 1789, to September, 1791, the National Assembly—which was then seated in Paris—made many fundamental changes. Its great work was the legal destruction of serfdom and feudalism. On the fourth of August, 1789, the Assembly swept away “in one consuming burst of enthusiasm” all special privileges, whether of classes, of cities, or of provinces.

In subsequent acts it passed its “Declaration of the Rights of Man.”—“liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.” It established a new administrative system, regulated public finances, seized church lands, and compelled clergy to take oath of allegiance to the civil constitution. In 1791, it drafted a constitution—the first of any importance found in any

European country—and forced the king to sign it. The constitution restricted the right to hold office to property holders and voting to those who paid taxes. It deprived the king of practically all power. The second phase of the revolution saw the transformation of the limited monarchy to the Republic. On September 20, 1792, the National Assembly abolished the Monarchy. Then followed the reign of terror and the transformation of the republic into the military dictatorship and the coming of Napoleon.

The Revolution raised the bourgeoisie to power at the expense of the monarchy. Although the workers did most of the fighting, they were still left a subject class. The revolution, as has been said, destroyed feudalism. Its "liberty" meant a guarantee to the individual citizen of such personal liberties as that of conscience, worship, speech and publication, and of owning private property; its "equality" that all men were equal before the law. Its "fraternity" was interpreted as a willingness on the part of the people to fight in defense of their country.

**The Russian Revolution**—During 1917 two revolutions took place in Russia, a political revolution of March and a social revolution of November.

With the development of capitalism in Russia and the breakdown of feudal institutions, a political revolution calculated to diminish the power of the nobility and the landed aristocracy was inevitable. The immediate cause of the political revolution was found in the confusion resulting from the war. Every move made in Russia following the outbreak of the war seemed calculated to lead the country ever nearer the maelstrom of revolution. The continued persecution of the liberal and socialistic forces in the country; the imperialistic aims of the government; the inefficiency, corruption, conservatism and pro-German character of many of the officials high in military and governmental circles; the conduct of the Czar's family, and, most important of all, the breakdown of the economic system, due to Russia's inability to obtain railway, farm and industrial equipment, to the departure of German industrial managers to the "Fatherland," and to the mobilization order which stripped the factories, railroads, mines and fields of most of their labor power—all whetted the flames of discontent among the various strata of the Russian people.

As 1917 approached, the conditions of the people became unbearable. In early March, 1917, the people rioted, the workers

struck for bread, for peace. The regiments, sent against the workers, refused to kill. On March 11, ordered to fire on a great crowd of people who had come to protest their wrongs in Petrograd, the soldiers fired on and killed the commander. The Socialists took control. Garrisons and buildings were occupied by the people. On March 15, Miluikov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Duma, announced that the Czar had been deposed.

A Provisional government under Miluikov was formed, which proved vacillating. It delayed the solution of the land and general industrial problem. It failed to revolutionize the aims of the war. Criticisms led to his resignation. Lvov became premier and in July, Kerensky, a social revolutionist, followed. The Bolshevik attacks continued. The provisional government, they insisted, had promised the country peace, they had promised a restatement of the war aims. They brought neither. Thousands of Russians were being killed daily in war. The government had feared to advocate the confiscation of the land, and in certain instances had introduced martial law against the peasants. It had no definite policy in regard to the socialization of the factories.

It had postponed the calling of the constituent assembly.

The Bolsheviks demanded that the entire power be given to the soviets, that land be distributed without compensation, that industries be socialized and workers' committees formed, and that immediate negotiations be started for a general democratic peace.

The support given them increased. On November 7th, they occupied the Winter Palace and other government institutions and Trotsky declared that the government of Kerensky had ceased. The power passed immediately into the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee. On January 19, 1918, they dissolved the constituent Assembly on the ground that it had refused to accept the authority of the Soviets, and a decree of dissolution was passed by the Soviets on January 26.

The Bolsheviks through the Soviet Congress proceeded to make peace. On July 18, 1918, they adopted "The Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," which provided for the assumption of power by the Soviets, for the socialization of land, natural resources, banks and factories, for the arming of the workers, the disarming of proportional classes and the disfranchisement of those who live off the profit of others. Since that date they have gone through a number of changes, the most interesting of which has been the adoption and modification of

the "New Economic Policy" which increased the scope of private enterprise. The tactics of the Bolsheviks during the first few years were based largely on the belief that similar revolutions would take place in other countries.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Sabotage**

A term applied to the conscious effort of the worker, while remaining on the job, to injure the interest of his employer. Workers have sabotaged employers by "loafing on the job," insisting on carrying out to the letter company or government regulations, by producing an inferior quality of goods, by misdirecting packages, annoying customers, stopping or injuring machinery, etc. Its object is so to injure the business of the employer as to cause him to grant certain concessions to the workers.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Scab**

A term used by American trade unionists to designate one who has been disloyal to the union. Usually the term is applied to those who take the place of a worker out on strike.

### **Scissor-bill**

One who refuses to join a class-conscious workers' movement or who actively aids the employer against the worker. The term is used in the West by the I. W. W.

### **Seamen's Act**

The La Follette Seamen's Act of 1915 provided freedom from arrest and imprisonment for desertion by American seamen in foreign ports and for foreign seamen in American ports. The Act was intended to build up American sea power by creating better conditions in the merchant marine, the chief provisions for welfare being increased forecabin, hospital and wash-room space; an increase in the daily food scale; reduction of corporal punishment at sea and crimping in port; a 9-hour day in port. There are also provisions for safety at sea.

On each point the owners took issue with the seamen, holding the provisions to be burdensome, but public opinion following the Titanic disaster aided the seamen to carry their point. Professor Paul S. Taylor, of the University of California, writing in the American Labor Legislation Review for March, 1925, describes the workings of the law.

### Single Tax

The method, already begun in various places, of restoring the land to the people, by taking for the community instead of taxes, whatever the bare land would rent for. This, when fully carried out, will make it unprofitable to hold any land unless it is put to its best use; and will consequently destroy land monopoly and open the resources of Nature to all mankind.

BOLTON HALL.

See index.

### Sisson Documents

Edgar G. Sisson brought from Europe in 1917 a series of about 60 documents pretending to prove that the Russian Soviet leaders were in the pay of the German Government. The British and French Governments, the New York Evening Post and Raymond Robbins of the Red Cross considered many of the documents of doubtful authenticity, and the Russians repudiated them.

John Reed wrote: "The greater part of this material has been in the possession of our Government for more than six months. If authentic, it would have justified military intervention in Russia long ago. But, even when intervention was decided upon, the announcement of the United States Government did not hint that the Soviet leaders were German agents. On the contrary, it was 'publicly and solemnly' proclaimed that we had no intention of interfering in the slightest degree in the international affairs of Russia."

See Liberator Pamphlet, No. 2.

### Social Hygiene

Seeks to preserve and strengthen the family as the basic social unit, bringing about the adaptation of the sex factor in human life to the growth, happiness and character of the individual and the good of society. Is particularly devoted to sex delinquency which results in prostitution and the dissemination of venereal diseases. See list of Publications of The American Social Hygiene Association, 370 Seventh Ave., New York City.

### Socialism

The aim of Socialism is the collective or social ownership and the democratic management of the socially necessary means of production and distribution. Socialists believe that the principal industries of the country should be owned by municipi-



palities, states and the nation and should be operated democratically in the interest of all. They, however, do not maintain that all industry must be owned and operated by governmental agencies but leave open a considerable field to producers' and consumers' co-operative enterprises. There would also probably be a certain amount of private enterprise in such industries as the handicraft industry, in new and experimental enterprises in farming, in art, literature, etc.

Socialists do not maintain that all must obtain an equal compensation irrespective of industry and ability. There will probably be a difference of compensation under socialism for many decades to come. Socialists, however, are opposed to income based on mere ownership and not on service to the community. See index.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Social Revolution**

This term is generally used by socialists and social reformers to signify the change from the present system of capitalism to a co-operative system. The term has no necessary connotation of violence or immediacy, as many seem to think.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Socialization**

As generally understood, socialization means the transformation of industry from private to social ownership. Social ownership might take the form either of ownership by the nation, the State, the municipality or by voluntary co-operative groups. The word as used in America generally includes in its meaning a plan for democracy of administration. It is also used rather vaguely by certain economists to describe a general trend toward a more social point of view in industry, or a wide participation of the worker in the ownership of stock in corporations.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### **Soviet**

A Soviet, or council, is a political body made up of delegates from trades, factories, industrial and professional groups, providing in Russia a means for direct proportional representation on the basis of occupation rather than residence.

### **State Constabularies**

A state constabulary is a cross between the local police and the state militia. Its members are generally mounted on horse back and do duty throughout the state. They are found wherever there is an industrial dispute. Their chief social value

has been in rural communities where they can go rapidly from place to place and cover a large sparsely settled community more adequately than can the police.

On the other hand they have been used in many instances against the workers in times of strikes. They are more effective tools of the employers than are the local police because they are unacquainted with the workmen in the localities in which they are brought, and consequently are able to use force against them without the compunction felt by those brought up in the same community. They are more disciplined, are trained in military practice and are armed for any emergency. When they enter a town during an industrial disturbance they receive favors from the owners of industry and feel themselves allied far more with the employing class than with the workers.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

"The State police system originated in Pennsylvania in 1905 and is now in force in 17 states. Their record against labor is a long one. Books have been published filled with affidavits of their anti-labor activities. These affidavits show that the State Police in industrial areas have been guilty of evictions, brutality, thug terrorism, false arrests, preventing meetings, and of cruelty to women and children. The New York constabulary committed atrocities during the strikes in Corinth and Buffalo; West Virginia has a bloody record of violence in labor disputes in which the State constabulary has played a brutal role alongside the company gunmen and Baldwin-Felts detectives. During the steel strike of 1919 the anti-labor reign of terror of the Pennsylvania State constabulary was particularly bloody, and was repeated in the 1922 coal strike. The record of the State police in Colorado led Governor William E. Sweet to disband it in 1923.

"Efforts to introduce State police are being made in Illinois, Missouri and Rhode Island, supported by chambers of commerce and employers' associations whose chief interest is to use the police to crush strikes by armed force, though the reasons publicly advanced are the protection of rural districts and the control of traffic."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

### Strike

A concerted withdrawal from work on the part of workers for the purpose of securing certain specified ends, such as bet-

ter wages, shorter hours, union recognition, greater control of shop conditions, etc., or of aiding other workers. Strikes for the improvement of conditions of the workers involved are legal. Sympathetic strikes and strikes for closed shops, under certain conditions have been generally regarded as illegal.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Strike Breakers

As the name implies, a strike-breaker is one who takes the jobs of those who are out on strike, thus helping to defeat the workers in their demands. Many strike-breakers are sent into a community where a strike is on by employment bureaus which keep them in entire ignorance of industrial conditions. They reach their destination "broke," unable to return to their native city, and in desperation accept the job offered. Whatever may be their reason for taking a position of a fellow worker, their act is anti-social. The workers must organize in unions of their own choosing and bargain collectively if they are going to be placed on any sort of an equal footing in their bargaining power. An individual workman has no chance of securing justice when pitted against a modern corporation. When the workers in a trade union vote to quit work rather than continue under certain conditions of employment, it may be taken for granted that their demands are usually just. The ordinary worker is not going to put his happiness and that of his family in jeopardy by unreasoning strikes. Periods of unemployment are the bane of the life of the average worker. The only method he has of winning his demands is by a concerted withdrawal of labor—by getting the employer to suffer such economic losses or annoyances that he will be willing to make concessions.

If the employer is able to secure other workers and continue production, the workers on strike will suffer defeat, and labor standards will remain low.

On the other hand, a successful strike will not only lead to higher standards for the workers involved, but for the unorganized workers. When one realizes the present low standard of living on the part of the masses of wage-earners, such a result is to be profoundly desired. See index.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Sweatshop**

A place where work is conducted under sub-normal working conditions, where wages are usually inadequate, working conditions unsanitary, hours long, etc. Rooms in tenement houses are often utilized as sweatshops.

**Syndicalism**

Syndicalists differ from Socialists in their opposition to the political state; in their belief that the economic structure of the future should be built upon the framework of the trade and industrial union, and in their tactics.

The core of the syndicalists' society would be the local trade unions or syndicate. Under syndicalism the producers of the same trade joined in a syndicate would control the means of production. No syndicate would be the exclusive owner of any portion of the collective property; merely the owner of it with the consent of other social groups.

The syndicate would connect itself with the rest of society through the national federation of a particular trade; through the central trade unions of a locality and through the general federation of syndicates. The most important of the groups would be the central trade union. Syndicalists would attain their end not through political action but through industrial action, through a succession of strikes ending in the general strike.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Tariff**

A tariff is an import duty imposed by a government on commodities entering the country. Tariffs, roughly speaking, have two primary objects: (1) that of securing governmental revenue; (2) that of discouraging the importation of certain kinds of commodities; of promoting the prosperity of particular domestic industries or protecting them against foreign competition. The first kind has been called, "tariff for revenue only," and has been for long urged by the Democratic party in this country; the second type, advocated by the Republican party, is known as the "protective tariff."

The two kinds of tariffs should not be confused. If a protective tariff is effective in attaining its object it keeps imports out of the country and yields little revenue. In imposing duties under a tariff for revenue, on the other hand, the aid is

to select such articles as coffee, which, of necessity, must be imported in large quantities.

The old time distinction between the Democratic tariff philosophy and the philosophy of the Republican party is being rapidly obliterated.

The policy of the protective tariff results in an economic loss to the country practicing it. Suppose that woolen goods could, under ordinary conditions, be produced more cheaply in England than in the United States and imported into this country at a lower price than the same goods produced here could be sold. A protective tariff on British woolen goods, if effective, would make it possible for American manufacturers to find a market for their goods despite the higher costs. The American consumer would pay a higher amount than under international free trade; their cost of living would be increased; they would have less money to spend on other commodities; their real income would thus be automatically decreased and the wealth of the nation reduced.

At the same time the tariff would encourage the employment of capital and of labor in uneconomical industries. "The country loses the advantage of geographical specialization by stopping up the natural channels of international trade."

It is, however, often argued that the nation is richer, because, as a result of a protective tariff, it is building up industries that would not otherwise be in existence. But, it should not be lost sight of that when we build a wall against imports we are closing foreign markets to our exports. A nation cannot sell if it will not buy. A nation that exports goods without importing a corresponding amount must be paid for the goods exported in gold, since it will not accept goods. The increase in the volume of gold leads to the raising of our prices, and this, in turn, makes it difficult for the markets abroad to purchase its goods. The nation's exports thereupon decline.

Protection then, in building up new industries, does not establish additional industry, but merely shifts labor and capital from those industries in which a nation has a strategic advantage to those where production is uneconomical; from industries which would be otherwise exporting their products to the production of goods which we would otherwise be importing. "Less goods are produced; prices are higher; income is smaller," the policy of



tariff protection, therefore, as Professor Bye of the University of Pennsylvania puts it, "cannot be regarded as anything other than an economic loss to the country which practices it."

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Trade Unionism

"Trade-unionism is the capitalism of the working classes; its method is to get as much out of the employer and give him as little in return as possible, precisely as the employer's method is to get as much out of his employees and give them as little in return as he can without killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Two centuries of capitalism have corrupted the wage-worker as deeply as the employer. . . ."

See Unions.

GEO. BERNARD SHAW.

### Unions

Trade unions are associations of employees for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives, organized on the basis of membership in particular trades or crafts. Industrial unions are such associations of workers formed on the basis of work in a particular industry. Labor unions of the type of the Knights of Labor included members of various trades and industries who happened to reside in a particular locality. The trade unions are the dominant form of unions in America today. The United Mine Workers, on the other hand, is an industrial union.

Most labor unions in America have as their objective merely immediate gains; the members of a few aiming also at the ultimate goal of social reconstruction. See company unions.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Wages

Wages, as used by modern economists, is the price paid for the service of labor of any kind. In everyday parlance, on the other hand, the term signifies the payments made by employers to those of their employees who work by the hour, the day or the week. These are usually manual workers or those doing mental work of not a high grade. The payments to others are usually described as "salaries," "commissions," "fees," etc.

Among the various kinds of wages are piece wages, time wages, wages in kind, fees, commissions, extra wages.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

**Walking Delegate**

A term applied to a trade union organizer who goes from place to place to inspect labor conditions and demand that the employers adhere to union conditions. The term "business agent" has of late been substituted for walking delegate.

**Wobbly**

A nickname for the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, used particularly in the West.

**Woman Suffrage**

The first organized demand for the vote on the part of women was made at a convention held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19th and 20th, 1848; The revolutionary declaration that "It is the duty of the women of America to secure to themselves the elective franchise," like the shot at Lexington, echoed round the world. Within a generation the women of the modern western nations were organized in suffrage societies, and nation-wide woman suffrage was an accomplished fact in Norway by 1907; Denmark by 1908; Great Britain and Russia by 1917; in Germany, 1919; Sweden by 1919; and in the United States in 1920, by the ratification by Tennessee, the thirty-sixth State, of the Federal Amendment which reads,—“The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of Sex.”

The three outstanding facts in connection with this development in political democracy are that, unlike the extension of the franchise to various classes of men, (1) Women secured political freedom before they had obtained economic freedom. (2) The victory was won by the efforts of the disfranchised class itself and without the aid of a dominant political party. (3) Women attained their end without violence. They never appealed to force. For once the path along which a class marched to political freedom was not stained with blood.

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

See *History of Woman Suffrage*, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and others; *Life of Susan B. Anthony* by Ida Husted Harper; *Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton*; *The Suffragette* by Sylvia Pankhurst; *Autobiography* by Emmeline Pankhurst; *Way Stations* by Elizabeth Robbins; *The Story of a Pioneer* by Anna Howard Shaw; *The Story of the Woman's Party*, by Inez Haynes Irwin; *Woman Suffrage and Politics* by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Shuler.

### Workers' Education

An attempt of organized labor to educate its own members under an educational system in which the workers prescribe the course, select the teachers, and, in considerable measure, furnish the finances. The objects of workers' education have been variously described; to train workers to be more intelligent and more effective trade union members and officers; to give them an elementary education; to develop their power to think; to furnish them with a finer cultural background; to make them more able to carry on a substantial struggle for a new social order.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

### Workmen's Compensation

The American Association for Labor Legislation has issued a pamphlet, January 1, 1925, showing that all but six States and the District of Columbia have workmen's compensation laws. A satisfactory law should contain the following features: The employer should provide necessary medical attendance. The waiting period before compensation begins should be not less than three nor more than seven days at the beginning of disability. The disabled workman should receive during disability 66 2/3 per cent of wages; compensation not to be more than \$25 or less than \$8 a week, unless his wages are less than \$8 a week. For partial disability a percentage of his wages should be paid proportional to the degree of disability. The employer should be required to pay a sum not exceeding \$150 for funeral expenses, and to the widow 35 per cent of the workman's wages until her death or remarriage, with extra for the children. All employments should be included, and all injuries in the course of employment or death resulting therefrom within six years. To avoid law suits compensation should be the exclusive remedy. Employers should be compelled to insure their compensation liability.

The opposition to this legislation is shown by an article in the San Francisco Chronicle, June 7, 1913:

"This act is an attack upon every individual in the State of California who employs another. Every farmer using any kind of machinery on his farm, every miner, every householder, with any mechanical appliances in his house, every storekeeper, every contractor, and every manufacturer, no matter how small, may be compelled to work for the rest of his life for accumulated pensions or exaggerated damages that may be fixed by the commission under this bill. . . ."

### Yellow Dog Contract

A contract signed by employees under which they are virtually coerced into agreeing not to join a union, and by means of which union representatives can be and are enjoined from attempting to organize a union, to speak to employees under contract or in any way to agitate the cause of unionism.

### Youth Movement

America discovered the German Youth Movement in 1922 when articles appeared in several magazines, and two German lads—one a worker the other a student—went through the colleges talking with our students. Since then patrioteers, Y. M. C. A. secretaries and liberals have assumed the existence here of an American counterpart. One has heard the "American" youth movement hymned and hissed in the press, the pulpit, and even over the radio.

The German Youth Movement has no equivalent here or elsewhere. It is the German soul in revolt against the modern bourgeois German society. No youth since Sparta have been the victims of such regulation as family, church, school, and State imposed on the young Germans of the Empire. Any body of youth would in time have found an exit. But nowhere else could they have escaped into so enchanting a world of make-believe. The young imagination which plays Indian in America, in Germany found ready at hand the athletic myth of the ancient Germani and the lusty native folk song and dance; to clothe the masqueraders there were the traditional peasant bodices and blouses.

The withdrawal into a play world met with resistance on the part of parents, teachers and preachers. In the conflict which ensued, the German mind always working on itself discovered the philosophy of responsibility-to-self inherent in this repudiation of authority. Then the movement was complete. Thousands of German youth clad in a beautiful tradition and fortified by a new moral code faced the Germany of Hohenzollern and Thyssens, the Government official and the little shop keeper.

In America, middle class youth (it was in the middle class that the German Youth movement formed) have not felt the pressure of discipline. Our society is young, unformed, adaptable. We bear the weight of our institutions lightly because we are confident of our freedom. Here and there since the war students have joined in support of liberal movements, or as critics of the national

life, or of education. (e.g., the Fellowship of Youth for Peace; The National Student Forum; the Chicago League of Youth.) But they represent the extra sensitiveness of a few individuals,—not a movement. The other Youth organizations—the Boy Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., etc., impress thousands of young people, but do not express them. They do not move; they cannot be called Youth Movement.

An uprising such as that of the German Youth Movement is generally precipitated by extreme pressure of some sort. The pressure is wanting here. A Youth Movement—if there ever is one—will come when some generation of students happens to be educated to feel needs in advance of their times. Then there will be a stocktaking of national standards; we shall hear new demands on society; and these youths, in attempting to lead, will seem to rebel.

JOHN ROTHSCHILD.



## Chapter 2

### ORGANIZATIONS

A list of Associations whose devotion to the ideals of an improved social order constitutes a constructive branch of the Liberal Movement.

Information has been supplied by the organization, except where marked with an asterisk.

**The African Blood Brotherhood**, 2299 Seventh Avenue, New York City. A fraternity of Negro peoples, a radical group which seeks the economic and political liberation of the Negro masses of the world. They advocate full race equality, the fostering of racial self-respect, higher wages and better conditions for Negroes, and co-operation with the other dark races and those white workers who are truly class-conscious and who are working for a united labor front.

**All American Co-operative Commission**, 806 Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio. A movement to co-ordinate and encourage co-operative effort of the producers and consumers of America; to unify action in eliminating speculation and profiteering in the necessities of life; to develop intelligence, mutual understanding and good will. It took the lead in the organization of Labor Co-operative Banks. Among its aims are (1) Mobilization of the credit resources and banking power of workers and farmers. (2) Direct trading between farmer producers and city consumers. (3) Aiding farmers, miners and transportation workers to start co-operative stores. (4) An educational campaign through publications. Its weekly Co-operative News reaches about 2,500,000 readers.

Among the officers and directors are Charles C. Connolly, Wm. H. Johnston, L. E. Sheppard, Herbert F. Baker, Warren S. Stone, Frederic C. Howe, Sidney Hillman and Albert F. Coyle, Executive Secretary.

**The American Association for Labor Legislation**, 131 East 23rd Street, New York City. It aims to provide the means for the expression of liberal sentiment which finds itself unable to tolerate unjust industrial conditions. It approaches labor problems from the general welfare viewpoint and engages in scientific investigation of industrial conditions and the dissemination of information on labor subjects to serve as a basis for legislation in the public interest.

The association publishes a quarterly, "The American Labor Legislation Review," and "Labor Problems and Labor Legislation," and maintains an information service for its members. In addition to research and publicity work, the association assists in the drafting and passing of desirable labor laws.

President, Thomas L. Chadbourne; Treasurer, Adolph Lewisohn; Secretary, John B. Andrews.

**American Birth Control League, Inc.**, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Purpose: To educate the public to the need for a controlled birth rate. To work for the amendment of all state and federal statutes which encourage dysgenic breeding, and to change laws so as to permit the establishment of clinics where the medical profession may give scientific, reliable methods of Birth Control to those legitimately entitled to it. Established first Birth Control Clinic in America. Three thousand cases personally instructed by medical director in two years. Present Membership 31,000, with twenty-eight State Branches and Committees.

Officers: President, Mrs. Margaret Sanger; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Lewis L. Delafield, Mrs. Juliet Barrett Rublee; Treasurer, Frances B. Ackermann; Executive Secretary, Anne Kennedy.

**The American Civil Liberties Union**, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Dedicated to the principle of progress by orderly methods, supporting all those persons and organizations whose civil liberties are at stake. The Union is not identified with any particular cause. It sends free-speech organizers and speakers into localities where freedom of speech, press, and assemblage are denied. It also organizes legal defense where needed and endeavors to secure amnesty for political and industrial prisoners. The Union opposes race discrimination, making arrests without warrant, entering upon private property and the seizing of papers, etc., without due process of law.

Officers are: Acting Chairman, John Haynes Holmes; Vice-chairmen, Duncan McDonald, Jeannette Rankin; Treasurer, Helen Phelps Stokes; Director, Roger N. Baldwin; Associate Director, Forrest Bailey; Field Secretary, Lucille B. Milner; Counsel, Wolcott H. Pitkin.

**American Committee for the Outlawry of War**, 76 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.

Declaration of our international policy by the passage by the United States Senate of the pending resolution to outlaw war;

to be followed by similar parliamentary declarations in other countries.

When a substantial number of parliaments have so responded, Conference of all civilized nations to be called to execute a general treaty for the abolition and outlawing of war.

This Conference to call a Convention for the creation and codification of the international laws of peace at which all civilized nations shall have adequate representation; such code to contain, among other things, articles based upon the following principles, with which no other articles of the code shall be in conflict:

(a) Further use of war as an institution for the settlement of international disputes shall be abolished.

(b) War between nations shall be declared to be a public crime under the law of nations, but the right to defense against actual invasion shall not be impaired.

(c) All annexations, seizures, or exactions by force, duress or fraud, shall be null and void.

(d) The international laws of peace shall be based upon equality and justice between nations, and shall be expanded, adapted and brought down to date from time to time by similar Conventions.

(e) A judicial substitute for war as the method of settling international disputes shall be created (or if existing in part, adapted and adjusted), in the nature of an international court modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdiction over controversies between our sovereign states; such court to possess affirmative jurisdiction to hear and decide all international controversies, as defined by the code, or arising under treaties.

(f) The court shall have jurisdiction over all parties to a dispute, or of any signatory nation.

(g) All nations shall agree to abide and be bound by and in good faith to carry out the orders, judgments, decrees, and decisions of such court.

(h) The jurisdiction of the court shall not extend to matters of governmental, domestic or protective policy, unless one of the disputing parties has by treaty or otherwise given another country a claim that involves those subjects. The classes of disputes excluded from the jurisdiction of the international court shall be specifically enumerated in the code and not be left open to the

flexible and dangerous distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable controversies, including questions of national honor.

(i) All petitions, answers, and other pleadings, shall be in writing and accessible to the public and all hearings by the court shall be open.

(j) The court should sit in the hemisphere of the contending nations; and if the disputants live in opposite hemispheres, then in the hemisphere of the defendant nation.

(k) National armaments to be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety and reasonable international requirements.

(l) All nations shall make public report once each year, setting forth fully their armaments, old and new, military and naval, structural and chemical. These reports to be verified by authorized committees acting under the direction and jurisdiction of the international court.

After the code has been created, it shall be submitted to a plebiscite or referendum in each civilized nation, so that the faith of the peoples of all countries shall be pledged behind the code.

War must be outlawed before the international court is given affirmative jurisdiction over the disputes of the nations, just as the power to engage in war among our states was, under Article 1, Section 9 of our Constitution, given up by our states before they clothed the Supreme Court with jurisdiction over their disputes.

Every nation should by agreement or treaty bind itself to indict and punish its own international war breeders or instigators and war profiteers under powers similar to those conferred upon our Congress under Article 1, Section 8, of our Federal Constitution, which clothes Congress with the power "to define and punish offenses against the law of nations." Provisions for adequate legislation to this end should be made.

SALMON O. LEVINSON, *Chairman,*  
*American Committee for the Outlawry of War.*

The resolution (S. Res. 441) submitted to the Senate in February, 1923, by Senator Borah:

Whereas war between nations has always been and still is a lawful institution; so that any nation may, with or without cause, declare war against any other nation and be strictly within its legal rights; and whereas revolutionary wars, or wars of liberation, are illegal and criminal, to-wit, high treason, whereas under exist-

ing international law wars of aggression between nations are perfectly lawful; and . . . whereas we have in our Federal Supreme Court a practical and effective model for a real international court, as it has specific jurisdiction to hear and decide controversies between our sovereign States; and whereas our Supreme Court has exercised this jurisdiction without resort to force for 135 years, during which time scores of controversies have been judicially and peaceably settled that might otherwise have led to war between the States, and thus furnishes a practical exemplar for the compulsory and pacific settlement of international controversies; and whereas an international arrangement of such judicial character would not shackle the independence or impair the sovereignty of any nation: Now, therefore, be it resolved, That it is the view of the Senate of the United States that war between nations should be outlawed as an institution or means for the settlement of international controversies by making it a public crime under the law of nations.

**The American Ethical Union**, 2 West 64th St., New York City. A Federation of the Ethical Societies of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Brooklyn. The aim of the Union is "To assert the supreme importance of the ethical factor in all relations of life—personal, social, national and international—apart from any theological or metaphysical considerations." The Union publishes a magazine, "The Standard," which appears monthly except in June, August and September, and a series of pamphlets. The Leaders of the Union are Dr. Felix Adler, Horace J. Bridges, Percival Chubb, John L. Elliott, Alfred W. Martin, David S. Muzzey, Henry Neumann, George E. O'Dell, Nathaniel Schmidt and S. Burns Weston.

**American Federation of Labor**,\* A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

**The American Federation of Teachers**, 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. A national organization of classroom teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Among its objects are: Mutual assistance and co-operation to safeguard the rights of teachers; to raise the standard of the teaching profession, thereby inducing the best qualified persons to enter therein; the democratization of the schools so that teachers become individuals rather than administrative units; the encouragement of a new spirit in education which will emphasize thinking rather than knowledge.



**The American Fund for Public Service, Inc.**, 2 West 13th Street, New York City, was established in July, 1922. The Fund consisted during the first year of approximately \$900,000 given by Charles Garland, of Massachusetts. The Fund grew out of a number of suggestions that there ought to be an established means through which persons could leave money by will or gift to forward pioneer enterprises not helped by other funds. While these suggestions were taking shape, Mr. Garland announced his intention of contributing his inheritance to public causes and agreed that he would do it through such a fund. The Board of Directors, however, did not take title to the fund until six months of experiment had demonstrated the workability of the plan.

The Fund is being used primarily for enterprises such as: (a) Producers' movements, as expressed in the work of organized labor and farmers, and in work directly in their interest, and (b) the protection of minorities. The assistance given by the Fund covers such matters as: research and investigation, publication and distribution, workers' education, co-operative enterprises, publicity and legal defense.

The Fund's gifts are not limited to the income. The directors decided to meet the needs put up to them irrespective of whether the money comes from principal or income. During the first year \$79,000 was given away and \$136,000 was loaned. During the second year \$26,738 was loaned and \$117,782 was given. At the end of 1924 the Fund was about \$1,200,000 due to the rise in value of securities.

The officers are: President, Judah L. Magnes; Acting President, Scott Nearing; Vice-President, Robert Morss Lovett; Secretary, Roger N. Baldwin; Treasurer, Morris L. Ernst; Counsel, Walter Nelles.

The Directors request that applicants do not attempt to see, telephone or write them personally. All business is done by mail, addressed to the Fund.

An appropriation of over \$100,000 has been made in 1925 to finance the publication of a series of standard works of literature and education in the service of the movement for workers' emancipation. Upton Sinclair is to be the editor.

**American Labor Press Directory**, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. A handbook of the labor press compiled by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, con-

taining a list of the official organs of the labor movement as well as the farm, radical and liberal papers interested in labor. Solon DeLeon, Director; Nathan Fine, Associate.

**American Labor Year Book**, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

**The American Peace Society**, Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C. The purpose of the Society is to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advocate the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world. A monthly magazine is published called the "Advocate of Peace."

The officers are: President, Theodore E. Burton; Vice-Presidents, David Jayne Hill, Wm. B. McKinley and Jackson H. Ralston; Treasurer, George W. White; Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call.

**Arbitration Society of America**, 115 Broadway, N. Y. C.

**Association for Peace Education**, 5733 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Purpose: To study the problem of the emphasis on war in educational work and to foster the ideals of peace education. President, William B. Owen; Secretary, Lydia M. Schmidt.

**The Association to Abolish War**, 7 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass. Organized in Boston, Mass. in November, 1915, on the initiative of Wilbur K. Thomas and Charles F. Dole, in confidence that it is possible to outlaw war within this generation. Is opposed to military training in schools and conscription, and advocates total disarmament for all countries, a plebiscite in case of threatened war. Supports any movement towards a reduction of the army and navy of the United States, believing that we should set the example for other nations.

The officers are: President, Charles F. Dole; Vice-President, Willard A. Paul; Secretary-Treasurer, Henry W. Pinkham.

**Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture**, 50 Prospect Park West. Leaders, Percival Chubb, Henry Neumann. A fellowship whose members come from many different religious ancestries. It fills the place of a church in their lives but requires neither acceptance nor denial of theological doctrines. It seeks to unite them on the highest human aim, the will to promote righteousness in all the relations of life. In the spirit of this object it consecrates marriages, names children, buries the dead

and ministers to the living. Its bond of union is not a creed but the furthering of ethical living.

**Brookwood College**, Katonah, N. Y. Organized March 31, 1921. A co-educational labor college in which some of the courses given are: social science, trade union history, trade union administration, trade union organization methods, social psychology, and social economics. The object is to prepare members and officers of American trade unions and other labor organizations for more efficient service to those organizations.

Save for the fact that it stands for a new and better order, motivated by social values rather than pecuniary ones, Brookwood is not a propagandist institution. It believes that the labor and farmer movements constitute the most vital concrete force working for human freedom and that by exerting a wise social control they can bring in a new era of justice and human brotherhood. It is a school to educate workers to continue in the workers' movements rather than to educate workers out of their class.

The regular course is two years but there is a special course of one year and also short summer courses.

The chairman of the faculty is A. J. Muste. The chairman and secretary of the Labor Co-operating Committee are respectively; James H. Maurer and Abraham Lefkowitz.

**Bryn Mawr Summer School**, Bryn Mawr, Pa. The aim is to offer young women in industry opportunities to study liberal subjects and to train themselves in clear thinking. The school is not committed to any theory or dogma.

**The Bureau of Social Hygiene, Inc.**, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Established for the study, amelioration, and prevention of those social conditions, crimes and diseases which adversely affect the well-being of society, with special reference to prostitution and the evils associated therewith.

The Directors are: John D. Rockefeller, Chairman; Charles O. Heydt, Raymond B. Fosdick; Katharine Bement Davis, General Secretary; Abraham Flexner is Associate Director.

**The Church League for Industrial Democracy**, 6140 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Stands for a change in our social and industrial life which will substitute fraternal co-operation for the present system of mastership.

The purpose of this organization is to unite, for intercession and labor, those within the Episcopal Church who believe that it is an essential part of the Church's function to make justice and

love the controlling motives in all social change, and who wish, as Christians, to promote all sound movements looking toward the democratization of industry and the socialization of life.

President, Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons; Executive Secretary, Rev. William B. Spofford; Treasurer, George Foster Peabody.

**The Church Peace Union**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, was founded and endowed February 10, 1914 by Andrew Carnegie. The purpose of the Union is to organize the churches and religious leaders of the world in their various nations for discussion and conferences; to take whatever action is possible in mobilizing the good-will of the people in the nations, and thus promote an attitude of understanding and peace.

The Board of Trustees felt so clearly that the winning of the war for democracy by the Allies must be the first step toward the establishment of permanent peace that the funds of the Union from the beginning of this country's participation, were used in a campaign carried on through the churches in behalf of the war aims of the Allies.

The Union was responsible for calling together the first International Congress of the churches after the Armistice. This conference was held at The Hague in September, 1919, representatives from fourteen countries attending.

**Citizens Fed. Research Bureau**,\* F. A. Vanderlip, Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.

**The Civic Club**, 14 West 12th St., New York City, was founded in 1916 to offer opportunities for social intercourse to men and women actively interested in civic affairs, and to promote public welfare by the consideration of social problems and active participation in civic activities. The qualification for membership is a proven interest in civic affairs, and, as the usual prejudices of race, sex, politics and special bias are ignored, the Club represents a successful experiment in social democracy unique in the United States.

The officers are: President, Louise Adams Floyd; Vice-President, Arthur Warner; Treasurer, LeRoy Peterson; Executive Secretary, Enid Johnson.

**Committee for International Workers' Aid**, 19 S. Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill. To assist workers in all lands who are in prison for expressing their opinions. Secretary, Rose Karsner.

**The Community Church of New York**, Park Avenue and 34th Street, New York City. An institution of religion dedicated to the service of humanity.

Seeking truth in freedom, it strives to apply it in love for the cultivation of character, the fostering of fellowship in work and worship, and the establishment of a righteous social order which shall bring abundant life to men.

This church, when organized in 1825, was dedicated by William Ellery Channing as a "community of free minds." It is trying to fulfill the spirit and purpose of this dedication in the twentieth century.

To this end, while choosing to continue friendly affiliation with the Unitarian body in which it was born and bred, the church now definitely exercises independence. Thus, in organization, work and ideal, it is *undenominational*. Its basis of life is not a sect but the community. Its members retain their former church affiliation, or know no church affiliation. They must be loyal simply to one another, and to the whole great circle of the human family.

The church is *public*, in that it belongs like a school or library, to all who will use it. Accepting the universality of the religious instinct, it welcomes all men, regardless of sect, class, nation or race, on a basis of membership identical with that of citizenship in the community.

The church is *free*, in that it has no creed, or even statement of faith, but leaves all matters of theology to the unfettered thought and conviction of the individual.

The church is *social* in that it interprets religion in terms of social reform, and dedicates its members to the fulfillment of social idealism.

The Community Church is a democratic church—an association of free men and women consecrated to the religion of God which is the fellowship of men in the common service of the common good. Its membership is open to all who sympathize with its purposes and ideals. Subscriptions are voluntary, but are earnestly solicited in behalf of a work which has no support other than that of the gifts of those who believe in it.

Ministers, John Haynes Holmes; John Herman Randall.

**Commonwealth College**, Mena, Arkansas. A non-sectarian, non-propaganda institution of higher learning for workers. It holds no brief for any economic, social or political creed, but seeks



to provide an educational institution where the social sciences may develop naturally, free from propaganda of any sort, and where both faculty and students may study the human problems with unbiased minds and with the scientific approach. It has its own economic foundation consisting of farms, gardens, dairy, orchards and various industries. Both faculty members and all students must earn their maintenance by manual labor, four hours per day being devoted to class-room work and four to productive labor. All buildings are being constructed by student and faculty labor, and in the near future practically all food will be produced on the College farms.

Dr. William Edward Zeuch, Chancellor; F. M. Goodhue, Dean of Men; Kate Richards O'Hare, Dean of Women; Wilbour C. Benton, Business Manager.

**Conference for Progressive Political Action**—See Political Parties.

**Conference of Youth Organizations**, 1192 Walton Avenue, Bronx, New York City. A co-ordinating group of people chosen by approximately thirty youth groups in Conference at Bear Mountain, N. Y., in March, 1924.

The object is to carry forward all possible means of co-operation and fellowship between youth organizations of all social viewpoints, by conferences, joint publications of research work on problems of youth, etc.

It is not a duplication of any existing organizations, but acts as a clearing house for ideas; also as an agency to promote fraternization among all the various youth groups.

The officers are: Devere Allen, Chairman; Executive Committee; Louise M. Lawton, Treasurer; Lea B. Stern, Corresponding Secretary.

**The Co-operative League of America**, 167 West 12th Street, New York City. Organized to spread the knowledge of the co-operative movement, whereby the people in voluntary association, produce and distribute for their own use the things they need. The principle activities are: Publication of two monthly periodicals, miscellaneous pamphlets and leaflets; sending out a monthly technical bulletin to affiliated societies and a news service to the farmer and labor press; sending out speakers to forums, etc., and technical advisers to assist co-operative groups with their problems of organization and administration; legal

advice on incorporation, etc.; the exposure of "fake" co-operatives.

Among the officers are: President, J. P. Warbasse; Executive Secretary, Cedric Long; Educational Secretary, Agnes D. Warbasse; Financial Secretary, J. N. Perkins; Organizing Secretary, Mary Childs Nerney.

**Emergency Foreign Policy Conference**, 532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. and 156 Fifth Ave., New York City. Organized in 1924 by American producers to spread accurate information about foreign affairs; to coordinate American public opinion about foreign problems; to make public opinion effective in support of a foreign policy based on humane and statesmanlike principles.

Secretary, Charles A. Lyman; Treasurer, Basil M. Manly.

**The Farmers' National Council**, Bliss Building, Washington, D. C. A special Union of Leading Farm Organizations and individual farmers, to carry out the Farmers' National Program for Economic Reconstruction in America and international reconstruction adopted at the Farmers' National Reconstruction Conference of delegates from these organizations—held in Washington in January, 1919—and to protect the farmer's rights at the National Capital.

The officers of the Council are: Herbert F. Baker, President; Benjamin C. Marsh, Managing Director; Mrs. George P. Hampton, Treasurer.

**Fed. Council of Churches Research Bureau**,\* 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

**The Federated Press League**, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. A co-operative labor news service, incorporated in 1919 as a non-profit making corporation. It is owned exclusively by labor papers and aims to serve every group and wing in the American labor movement, from the most conservative unions to the most radical left political parties. Full-time, part-time and volunteer correspondents send in labor and civil liberties and allied news to the central office at Chicago, where the daily clip sheet is printed and distributed to the 75 labor papers that constitute the membership and to various individuals, libraries and organizations that make use of the news.

Carl Haessler, Managing Editor; Tom Tippet, Business Manager.

**Fellowship for a Christian Social Order,\*** 311 Division Avenue, Hasbrouck Heights, N. J.

**The Fellowship of Reconciliation,** 383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City. A group of men and women of many races who recognize the oneness of the world-wide human family and who wish to live in the spirit of this unity and find out more and more all that it should mean.

They believe that in order to do so, war and the spirit of enmity must be abolished and that we should seek to know instead the spirit of love that draws men together in a friendly and united society. They believe that the spirit of love seen in Jesus Christ can work through and change all social relations, industry, politics and international relations; that it is the only foundation for human society, and the only power which can overcome evil and call forth the undiscovered good in men.

The officers are: Chairman, Gilbert A. Beaver; Secretaries, Paul Jones, John Nevin Sayre, George L. Collins; Treasurer, William C. Biddle.

**Fellowship of Youth for Peace,** 104 East 9th St., New York City. A part of the world-wide movement of the Youth of all classes, nations, and races who recognize the unity of the human family and wish to live in this spirit of friendship. Aims to let no interest of self, family, creed, class, nation, or race separate its members from their fellow men; is determined to abolish the treason to humanity involved in war.

Instead of creating another organization for peace, unites in fellowship all youth who are striving for the removal of the causes of war: race prejudice, economic exploitation, surplus population, nationalism, and to cooperate with all existing organizations who are working for the prevention of war by eliminating these causes.

The American Movement is a dynamic factor in this world federation. Youth must courageously face the problems of race prejudice, economic conditions, education, moral responsibilities, and all human relationships, and approach their study in a new spirit. Standing together, the rising generation can build a new world in which suspicion, hatred, and war will be replaced by mutual trust, goodwill, and fellowship.

National Secretaries: Thomas Q. Harrison, Mary Ida Winder.

**Fidac,\*** Burlington, Vt.

**Foreign Policy Association**, 9 East 45th Street, New York City. The object is to carry on research and educational activities and to aid in the study and development of a liberal and constructive American foreign policy. It studies international relations, especially as these affect the United States, communicates the result of its study to as large a number of Americans as possible to create a better understanding of what our foreign problems are, and seeks to get action by the American people and the American Government in certain instances.

A distinctive F. P. A. contribution is a series of luncheon-discussions held for the past five seasons in New York City and elsewhere, at which problems of foreign policy are discussed from widely differing points of view. There are active branches in Boston, Cincinnati, Hartford and Philadelphia. Subcommittees at present are on "International Traffic in Opium" and "Traffic in Arms." A weekly News Bulletin is issued.

Chairman, James G. McDonald; Secretary, Christina Merri-man.

**The Freethinkers Society of New York**, 226 West 58th Street, New York City. Among its aims are: that church property be no longer exempt from taxation; that the employment of Chaplains in all institutions supported by public money shall be discontinued; that public appropriations for institutions of a sectarian character shall cease. They are also opposed to the use of the Bible in public Schools. They believe that conduct should be based on reason and knowledge without divine guidance or interference. They declare that theology is condemned by reason as superstitious, and by experience as mischievous, and is the historic enemy of Progress. Freethought seeks to dispel superstition; to spread education; to disestablish religion; to rationalize morality; to eradicate prejudice; to promote peace; to dignify labor; to extend material well-being; and to realize the self-government of the people.

**Industrial Workers of the World**, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. See I. W. W. in index.

**Ingram Institute of Economic Education**, New York University, Washington Square, New York City. The purpose is to stimulate thinking and to assist in arriving at correct conclusions on matters fundamental to the well-being of society in general and to the individual in particular. Its teaching is

devoted to Economics, Sociology, Political Science and Education. Frederick F. Ingram, Founder and President; Frederick W. Roman, Director.

**The Inquiry,\*** 129 East 52nd St., New York City. An association to study methods of applying Christian ideas to human relationships. Bruno Lasker, Secretary.

**Institute of Politics,\*** Hopkins Hall, Williamstown, Mass.

**The Intercollegiate Peace Association,** Yellow Springs, Ohio. The object is to further the cause of international peace by arousing interest in the subject among the student body of American colleges and universities. To foster this interest, oratorical contests are held in which the speeches are on some phase of international peace. Cash prizes are given to the winners.

The Executive Committee consists of: Prof. S. F. Weston, Chairman and Executive Secretary; Prof. Payson Miller, Treasurer; and Prof. E. P. Trueblood.

**International Committee for Political Prisoners,** 47 Washington Square South, New York City. Endeavors to bring before as wide a public as possible authentic information concerning the victims of political persecution throughout the world and, wherever possible, to work for prison relief and eventual release.

The committee is made up of representatives of minorities from each of the countries with political prisoners, together with American liberals interested in furnishing relief and protesting against imprisonment for political views.

Secretary, Eleonore Von Eltz.

**Internationals,** Box 296, Costa Mesa, Calif. Teaches that the Boy Scout Movement is a kindergarten for war, the only variation from militarism being the substitution of woodcraft for the use of guns. "Militarism reacts as a cause of war for three reasons: (1) Through its traditions it maintains that war is good; (2) By its trappings it makes war appear glorious; (3) When people become skilled in any line they naturally wish to apply their skill."

**International Conciliation,\*** 407 W. 117th Street, New York City.



**The International Free Trade League**, 24 St. Botolph Street, Boston, Mass. Its object is the abolition of all economic barriers between nations. It claims that tariffs and other restrictions on trade are forms of economic war, which require navies and other armaments to support them, and that they lead eventually to physical warfare. It believes that if all the markets of the world were open on equal terms to everybody the present imperialistic systems of government would disappear. Hence, Free Trade is one of the most important steps toward world peace and an indispensable preliminary to disarmament.

The League aims to accomplish these objects mainly by enlightening public opinion through the medium of their periodical, the *International Free Trader*.

**International Ladies' Garment Workers Union**, 3 West 16th St., New York City. See Workers' University.

**Kuzbas**, 799 Broadway, New York City and Wolchonka 91, Moscow. The Autonomous Industrial Colony located at Kemerovo, Kuznetzky Basin, Russia, organized in the spring of 1921 and built around the idea of transplanting American technical skill to the Russian Republic in order to assist in the rehabilitation of industry and the development of Russian resources.

The original expedition was headed by an American industrial worker, H. S. Calvert, and a Dutch engineer, S. J. Rutgers. During 1922 about 400 American workers and engineers emigrated to the colony taking with them over \$200,000 worth of equipment and the Russian Government allotted two million gold roubles for the work of development. Since 1922 many more Americans have gone over and new groups are still being formed.

The following industries are now functioning: coal mines, a coal distillation and chemical plant, a 33,000 acre farm, a large dairy, electrical stations, machine shops, brickworks, and lumber yards. There are also enterprises of a communal nature such as dining rooms and laundries.

Thomas Barker, Manager; Matti Mulari, Treasurer.

**The Labor Bureau, Inc.**, 2 West 43rd Street, New York City; 440 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; 525 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal. This organization was founded in May, 1920, and is composed of a group of technicians rendering professional service to labor organizations, or to others working for some public purpose of benefit to labor. Its staff includes economists, statisticians, engineers and accountants. It aims

to furnish to its clients scientific interpretations of facts and such other technical service as will be of use in solving their problems and meeting situations as they arise. "Facts for Workers" is published.

The more active staff workers are: Alfred L. Bernheim, Sara Bernheim, Stuart Chase, Walter M. Cook, Kathryn Fenn, Henry P. Melnikow, George Soule and O. Zimrring.

**The Labor College of Philadelphia**, 1315 North 26th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Affiliated with the Department of Education, the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and the Workers' Education Bureau of America. The college is unique in having courses in shop economics, which is a study of the details of organization, finance, materials and labor, given from the worker's point of view. Other classes include English, Public Speaking, Economics, Labor History and Psychology.

The officers are: President, George Creech; Vice-President, Thomas J. Bell; Secretary-Treasurer, E. J. Lever.

**The Labor Defense Council**, 19 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Ill. Organized for the defense of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalist defendants prosecuted at the instance of the Federal Secret Service in its drive against the radical American labor and communist movements. At the present time the Council's main activity is directed toward the defense of members of the Worker's Party who are being prosecuted for their opinions or beliefs.

The National officers are: Chairman, Edward C. Wentworth; Vice-Chairman, Eugene V. Debs; Secretary, George Maurer; Treasurer, Frances C. Lillie; Secretary of Defendants' Committee, William Z. Foster.

**The Labor Temple School**, 239 E. 14th Street, New York City. Conducts courses in art, literature and drama, under the leadership of Will Durant. A new Labor Temple is being constructed at 14th Street and Second Avenue. Edmund B. Chaffee, Director.

**A League-For-A-Living**, 125 West 16th Street, New York City. Founded by P. M. Martin, it consists of a group of people who believe that the conflict between socialism and individualism is unnecessary and a mistake. They hold to the idea that socialistic principles should be applied to the production and distribution of necessities, and individualistic principles should be applied to the acquisition of luxuries.

In a pamphlet written by Mrs. Martin entitled, "A New Utopia," a plan is worked out for the accomplishment of these ideas.

**The League for Democratic Control**, 16 Carver Street, Boston, Mass. Founded in May, 1917, upon the entrance of the United States into the war. It has come to function chiefly as an organization to inform and liberalize public opinion upon the industrial and international problems of the day.

Its officers are: Clarence R. Skinner, Chairman; Margaret H. Shurtleff, Treasurer; Elizabeth Glendower Evans, Secretary.

**The League for Industrial Democracy**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has for its object "To promote among college men and women an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and of the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

The League is the successor to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society organized by Jack London, Upton Sinclair, George Strobell, and others in 1905. It was reorganized in the Fall of 1921 under its present name in order that it might be able to cover a somewhat larger field of social endeavor. Its activities are various.

(1) Under its auspices numerous speakers are sent to the cities and colleges of the country to lecture on problems of industrial democracy. In the college year 1923-'24 Paul Blanshard, its Field Secretary, spoke before some 35,000 students in 85 colleges and addressed 15,000 others at meetings of church groups, labor organizations, women's clubs, etc. Norman Thomas, Harry W. Laidler and others spoke extensively under League auspices.

(2) It organizes discussion groups in colleges and in cities. At the end of the college year 1923-'24, it contained student representatives in over 70 colleges. The New York City Chapter, of which Louise Adams Floyd was president, was the largest city organization with a membership of about 500. The League's student membership is approximately 3,000; its regular membership, 1,200. It offers the following pamphlets: *The Challenge of War*, by Norman Thomas, 10c; *Public Ownership Here and Abroad*, By Harry W. Laidler, 15c; *How America Lives*, By Harry W. Laidler, 10c; *The Profit Motive in Industry*, by Prof. Harry F. Ward, 10c; *Roads to Freedom*, by Harry W. Laidler, 10c; *Canada Shows How to Manage Electrical Power*, by Harry W. Laidler, 5c.

(3) It conducts an editorial service under the supervision of Norman Thomas, supplying editorials every two weeks to about 150 labor and farm journals.

Among its other activities are research and investigations, the holding of conferences, mass meetings, etc.

The officers elected for 1924-'25 are, President, Robert Morss Lovett; Vice-Presidents, Zona Gale, Professor Vladimir Karapetoff, James H. Maurer, Professor Vida D. Scudder; Treasurer, Stuart Chase; Executive Directors, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas; Field Secretary, Paul Blanshard.

**The League for Mutual Aid**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Organized in January, 1920, for the purpose of bringing together active workers in the labor and radical movements for mutual helpfulness. Its primary aim is to assist the former political prisoner, radical agitator, or worker who is in distress through no fault of his own other than his views and general unfitness for capitalist society. The work is financed by an annual membership fee of \$5 which may be paid in instalments if desired. The League lends money to members in need, helps to secure positions, runs a vacation and camping service and also arranges entertainments from time to time.

The officers are: Chairman, Roger N. Baldwin; Vice-Chairman, Charles W. Ervin; Treasurer, Leroy Peterson; Executive Secretary, Ruth Albert.

**The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association**, 6 East 39th Street, New York City.

"In view of the advance in the means of destruction of life and property in war, the preservation of liberty and civilization requires that a corresponding advance be made in governmental co-operation designed to make an end of war; some league, or union, or association of nations is the only form of international organization yet proposed that is adequate to accomplish this end; three years of experience with the existing League proves it to be such an efficient and promising agency for the substitution of conference and justice and law for force in international affairs, that the adherence to it by the United States would render it the greatest moral and political agency hitherto devised for securing the peace of the world."

The active officers are: John H. Clarke, President; George W. Wickersham, President of the Council; Everett Colby,

Chairman of the Executive Committee; Wm. H. Short, Executive Director; Charles C. Bauer, Assistant Director.

**League for the Organization of Progress**, Tremont Building, Boston, Mass. (a branch of the main office in Switzerland.) Proclaims that the nations of the earth have reached a degree of common interest which requires imperatively common institutions for the solution of the social problems common to all. Among these problems are: Abolition of protective tariffs; statistical inquiry into overproduction; perfection of international labor; organization of migration; international suppression of disease; guarantee of political and religious freedom; and improvement in the League of Nations.

President, R. Broda. Committee, David Starr Jordan, Jean Longuet, Ramsay MacDonald, etc.

**League for Political Education**,\* 123 W. 43rd Street, New York City.

**Liberal Club of Harvard University**, Cambridge, Mass. A center of liberal activities at Harvard, providing an opportunity to hear speakers on social and political questions. President, Sterling Dow; Secretary, J. L. Dunham; Treasurer, Allan Evans.

**Lower Taxes-Less Legislation League**, Southern Hotel, Columbus, Ohio. Organized in response to the country-wide demand that government costs and the taxes required to meet them be reduced. The position of the League is that this can be brought about by a re-awakening of the people to the ideals of the men and women who founded and developed this Nation. They aimed at honesty, simplicity, and economy in government. They believed that those governmental activities were best which interfered least with the enterprise and self-reliance of the individual citizen.

They insisted that the taxes imposed upon them for the maintenance of government should be reduced to the lowest point consistent with effective administration.

President, C. A. Dyer.

**Lucy Stone League**, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, contends that a woman has a right to keep her own name after marriage if she chooses to do so. They believe that a woman's maiden name is the symbol of her own identity and should not be lost through marriage.

President, Ruth Hale; Hon. Vice-President, Charlotte Perkins Gilman; Vice-President, Beulah Livingston; Secretary and Treas-



surer, Jane Grant; Recording Secretary, Deborah Corel; Bulletin Editor, Otilie Amend.

**Manumit School**, Pawling, N. Y., primarily for the children of workers, directed and maintained by Organized Labor, recognizes the necessity for education which will develop men and women with the knowledge, staying power, and inspiration to rebuild institutions and alter conditions which cramp the lives of most of the workers today. With this end in view, Manumit takes its place among the educational laboratories here and abroad that foster the growth of individuals freed from inherited errors of the past.

William M. Fincke, Treasurer; Helen H. Fincke, Co-Director.

**Methodist Federation for Social Service**, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Organized for the purpose of deepening within the church the sense of social obligation and opportunity, to study social problems from the Christian viewpoint and to promote social service in the spirit of Jesus Christ. The Federation advocates, in industry, the reduction of the hours of labor, one day's rest in seven, a living wage and industrial safety. It seeks to bring the church and labor to a mutual understanding through the interpretation of each to the other. Publishes the Social Service Bulletin. Harry F. Ward, Winifred L. Chappell, Aaron Allen Heist, Secretaries.

Executive Committee: Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Prof. H. F. Rall, Rev. George Elliott, Herbert N. Shenton and Rev. Ralph B. Urmey.

**Modern School**, Stelton, N. J. The Ferrer Colony has grown up around The Modern School which was brought to Stelton from the city ten years ago. The residents have formed a co-operative association which operates a grocery store and a local jitney. The colony as such is not an organized entity.

The aim of the school is to preserve and foster the initiative and creative faculties in the child in order that he may remain self-active through life and become through his experiences both independent and socially conscious. His social relationships will be enlarged through having free association with his peers, and being permitted to get the reaction from his experiences with them. The school aims to provide the environment and the materials and opportunity. Believes that no progress can be made in social betterment so long as children are put through

the same regimen as has been carried out in both public and private schools for generations, against the protests of the foremost educators, such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Ferrer, etc.

The Principals are Elizabeth Byrne Ferm and Alexis C. Ferm; Secretary, Oscar Steckbardt; Treasurer, Joseph Kenner.

**National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The most effective and far-reaching organization working for the Negro people of this country. It has reached a membership of approximately 100,000, including persons of both races. The Association aims to make the Negroes of the United States physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement and socially free from insult. The official organ of the Association is "The Crisis," a monthly magazine.

President, Moorfield Storey; Secretary, James Weldon Johnson.

**National Association for Child Development**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Organized by labor men, educators, and parents for the purpose of bringing up the children of American workers in the spirit of the labor movement and to inculcate in them a desire to help eventually solve the social and economic problems that face the working class.

The association's first activity this year was the formation of a summer camp at Pawling, N. Y., for the children of trade unionists. Most of the association's efforts are now concentrated on the formation of boys' and girls' clubs to be affiliated nationally in a movement known as "Pioneer Youth of America."

The officers are: President, Thomas J. Curtis; Vice-Presidents, A. J. Muste and Maude Swartz; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff; Secretary, Joshua Lieberman.

**National Bureau of Economic Research**, 474 West 24th Street, New York City. Organized to furnish exact and impartial determinations of the facts bearing upon economic, social and industrial problems. The Bureau hopes to aid all thoughtful people, however divergent their views of public policy, to base their discussions on objective knowledge as distinguished from subjective opinion. The directors are scientific, financial, industrial, agricultural, commercial and labor experts who select the topics for investigation and appoint the scientific staff.

President, John P. Frey; Directors of Research, Edwin F. Gay and W. C. Mitchell; Secretary, G. R. Stahl.

**National Bureau of Information and Education**, 15 East 40th St., New York City. Organized to supply voters with facts which they require, especially upon financial imperialism; transportation; banking; coal, oil, ore and water power; taxation and tariff; distribution of wealth; progress of liberalism, politics and election laws; prisons; and war and peace. Publishes "The Liberal." Affiliated with the Committee of 48 of which J. A. H. Hopkins is chairman.

Chairman, F. A. Pattison; Vice-Chairman, Samuel Swett.

**National Catholic Welfare Council**,\* 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

**National Child Labor Committee**,\* 215 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

**National Consumers League**, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

"The continuous effort of the league is to enable people to spend money with a clear conscience, sure that their garments and all other purchases are free from child labor and the taint of overwork and underpay that haunts the sweatshops. The league strives undeviatingly for the establishment of standards in industry. First for standards accepted voluntarily by merchants and manufacturers when protective statutes, even for children, hardly yet existed; later for standards adopted in the nineties of the last century by Legislatures only to be held unconstitutional at the next following session of a court; recently for standards set by statutes more far-reaching than those early ones, and made permanent by decisions of State courts of last resort and by the Federal Supreme Court.

"Through the great shopping public the league strives to make industry safe and healthful for women, youth and children; for aliens, the not-yet-organized workers; for all who enter upon new industries and processes the dangers of which are not widely known by the general public. President, John R. Commons; Secretary, Florence Kelley.

**National Council for Prevention of War**, 532 Seventeenth Street N. W., Washington, D. C. A clearing house of national organizations that believe in the "substitution of Law for War as a method of settling international differences." It was formed in October, 1921, by representatives of seventeen national or-

ganizations to promote the aims of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments.

Its name was then the National Council for Limitation of Armaments. Progress of thought has permitted the change in name. Thirty-five organizations representing a membership of approximately 10,000,000 men and women, are now affiliated in the Council, which has three objectives: (a) Progressive World Organization; (b) World-wide Reduction of Armaments by International Agreement; (c) World-wide Education for Peace. A fortnightly Bulletin and a Campaign Text-book for peace workers are issued. Executive Secretary, Frederick J. Libby.

**National Federation of Progressive Women**, 806 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C. Successor to the Woman's Committee for Political Action that was organized to stimulate women to political activity in the liberal movement. A resolution was passed in December, 1924, to the effect that whatever form of Progressive organization may be adopted, a cardinal principle of such organization shall be the equal representation of men and women.

New York Federation of Progressive Women, Room 1903, 25 West 43rd St. Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Chairman; Maida C. Darnton, Treasurer; Mary Knoblauch, Secretary.

"Believing that it is fundamental for the peaceful development of our economic life and the eventual abolition of war that control of our natural resources, our public utilities, and especially our financial system, be taken out of the hands of the few, we advocate support of the following program: Public control and conservation of natural resources; public ownership with democratic control of all means of communication and transportation; public control of the Nation's money and credit; abolition of all political patronage; government revenue to be raised not by tariffs but by: (a) taxes on large incomes and inheritances, and (b) on land values; (c) profits on Government banking; (d) savings from reduction of armament; restoration of civil rights and guarantee to all citizens of full economic, legal and political rights, including: (a) right of childhood to natural development; (b) right of workers to organize; (c) right of minorities to proportional representation; legislation to prevent courts from nullifying acts of legislatures, and to correct other judicial abuses; abolition by international agreement of war as

a means of settling differences between nations and the substitution of judicial settlement of disputes and a democratically controlled world organization."

**National Federation of Religious Liberals**, Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Ill. A free fellowship beyond the lines of sect and creed and race, to advance the cause of freedom and progress in religion and combat intolerance and injustice.

Executive Chairman, Curtis W. Reese.

**National Labor Forum**,\* 3 W. 16th Street, New York City.

**National League of Women Voters**,\* 532 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

**National Municipal League**, 261 Broadway, New York City. Includes the former Short Ballot Organization. Exists to promote efficient and democratic government in city, county, state and nation, maintaining an information service, and forms a national clearing house on government subjects. Publishes the *National Municipal Review*.

President, Frank L. Polk; Secretary, H. W. Dodds; Assistant Secretary, C. R. Howe.

**National Non-partisan League**,\* Minneapolis, Minn.

**National Popular Government League**, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C. Advocates adequate methods of publicity on public questions; commission manager plan of city government and its adaptation to State government; direct legislation; withdrawal from the Supreme Court of legislative powers; conservation of natural resources; and public ownership and operation of the major water power sites.

President, Robert L. Owen; Director, Judson King.

**National Probation Association**, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. "Probation is the method by which the community, through its courts, seeks to supervise, discipline and reform offenders, especially young and early offenders, without imprisoning them, through the authoritative, helpful oversight of an agent of the court known as the probation officer." Advocates juvenile courts in each city or county to safeguard every child needing court care, and works for the appointment of better officers and the enactment of needed legislation.

President, Henry S. Hurlbert; General Secretary, Charles L. Chute; Treasurer, George Gordon Battle.



**Nationalization Research Com., United Mine Workers,\*** Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

**National Short Ballot Association,\*** 8 W. 9th Street, New York City.

**National Society for Penal Information,\*** Grand Central Terminal, New York City.

**National Student Forum**, 2929 Broadway, New York City. A group of separate activities owned and run by young people in or recently out of colleges of the U. S. A. In general these activities are, and will be, carried on among college undergraduates and alumni in the American college field. At present they include an intercollegiate paper, "The New Student," and a summer discussion and recreative camp for liberal and intellectually active students of one sort or another.

The general purpose of the Forum is to challenge and re-value American college education from the student point of view, and to keep college undergraduates informed on the important thought and action of Youth both here and throughout the world.

President, George D. Pratt, Jr.; Secretary-Treasurer, Justine Wise; Editor of "The New Student," Douglas Haskell; Director of Intercollegiate Camp, Charlotte Bradley.

**National Unemployment League, Inc.**, 190 Montague Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Organized in December, 1922, to advocate or endorse any reform or legislative enactment tending to prevent or eliminate unemployment. Its chief aim is to secure employment for all workers in times of business depressions, through the establishment of public works by Federal, State and Municipal Governments.

As a preliminary step toward the working out of their plans, a bill was introduced in both Houses of Congress in the 67th and 68th Congresses providing for a commission of three whose duty it shall be to make investigation throughout the Nation "to determine whether the public interest can be best served by the development of the following public works: roads, afforestation, and drainage and irrigation of waste lands."

Honorary President, George Foster Peabody; President, Darwin J. Meserole; Vice-Presidents, Alfred J. Boulton, S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John A. Ryan, Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch; Secretary-Treasurer, Louis H. Pink.

**National Urban League,\*** 137 E. 23rd St., New York City.

**National Woman's Party,** Capitol Hill, Washington, D. C.

A national non-partisan organization of women, dedicated to the freedom of women, and open to all women who will put that cause before the interests of any political party. Its aim is to remove all discriminations against women in public and private life. It seeks to obtain for women equal rights and opportunities with men before the law, in the professions, in industry, in education, in the church, in the home and in the conduct of our government—in short: to obtain for women a position where they shall be able to direct their own lives, and equally with men to direct the course of our common national life.

The Woman's Party demanded immediate and nationwide suffrage by a federal amendment. After the winning of suffrage, the Party at once reorganized (1921) to work for the complete freedom of women in all lines. It was felt that the obtaining of the vote was only a step in the evolution toward the goal to which women's eyes were turned and that as women had stood together for suffrage, so they must stand together until they had opened all gates to women—until every vestige of the subjection of women had disappeared.

President, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont; Secretary, Anita Pollitzer; Vice-Presidents, Alice Paul, et al.

**National Women's Trade Union League of America,** 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. A federation of trade unions with women members, with an individual membership of those accepting its platform. The League exists to secure for working women a wage that will permit of an American standard of living, hours short enough to leave time for recreation and education, and the right to belong to a trade union. Three methods are used to accomplish the purposes: through organization of women into trade unions; through legislative endeavors; and through the League Training School, maintained to train young working women to assume leadership and responsibility in the labor movement.

President, Maud Swartz; Vice-President, Rose Schneiderman; Secretary-Treasurer, Elisabeth Christman.

**New School for Social Research,\*** 465 West 23rd Street, New York City. Seeks an unbiased understanding of the existing order, its genesis, growth and present working, as well as of those circumstances which are making for its revision. Its central field

of research is that of the social sciences and its point of view is that of intellectual liberalism, seeking to understand existing institutions and institutional trends rather than to defend them or to subject them to destructive criticism. The school aims to draw to its lecture rooms, not primarily young people, but persons of maturity engaged in the professions or business interested in the serious study of social problems.

**N. Y. Child Labor Com.,\*** 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

**New York Peace Society**, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Organized to advocate the creation of a permanent international court or courts and the progressive definition and development of international law; to advocate the limitation of armaments by international agreement; to work for the prevention of international disputes and the removal of their causes, and, if disputes occur, for their settlement without warfare; to support the continuous association of self-governing nations for the preservation and improvement of international justice, friendship, and universal cooperation for the common welfare.

President, Oscar S. Straus; Acting Secretary, Linley V. Gordon.

**New York School of Social Work,\*** 105 E. 22nd Street, New York City.

**Open Forum National Council**, Little Building, Boston, Mass. Under the auspices of the Boston Baptist Social Union, the Ford Hall Forum has been conducted for eighteen years by its director, George W. Coleman. The open forum is a voluntary assembly of the earnest and thoughtful people of a community, without regard to economic, religious or political differences, for the purpose of discussing all matters of public interest under the inspiration of acknowledged leaders, in the interest of truth, fair play and mutual enlightenment, with full opportunity for participation by the audience.

The forum avoids partisanship, eliminates sectarianism and disowns class distinctions. It promotes good will, encourages tolerance and cultivates genuine Americanism.

The open forum bids men seek the truth reverently and speak it bravely. It shows forth that men may frankly discuss different viewpoints in the spirit of unlesened good will and fraternalism. Such discussion is the safety-valve of democracy. It leads to human fellowship and abolishes distrust and hatred

and inevitably works toward an understanding that makes social progress possible.

The following are some of the speakers available through the Open Forum Speakers Bureau in 1925:

- |                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Capt. A. Aaronsohn            | Zona Gale                       |
| Allen D. Albert               | William R. George               |
| Ben Franklin Allen            | James W. Gerard                 |
| Frederic Almy                 | Charlotte Perkins Gilman        |
| Norman Angell, of England     | Mrs. Claude U. Gilson           |
| Louis K. Anspacher            | Sidney L. Gulick                |
| Henry A. Atkinson             | Francis Hackett                 |
| Harry F. Atwood               | Beatrice F.-R. Hale, of England |
| A. C. Backus                  | Norman Hapgood                  |
| Roger Baldwin                 | Maurice H. Harris               |
| Earl Barnes                   | Stanley High                    |
| Samuel Zane Batten            | Allen Hoben                     |
| B. R. Baumgardt               | Richard W. Hogue                |
| Allan L. Benson               | John Haynes Holmes              |
| Arthur E. Bestor              | Hamilton Holt                   |
| Paul Blanshard                | Frederic C. Howe                |
| Harriot Stanton Blatch        | Harrison E. Howe                |
| Horace J. Bridges             | Tehyi Hsieh, of China           |
| Charles R. Brown              | Manley O. Hudson                |
| Lewis Browne                  | Homer B. Hulbert                |
| Allen T. Burns                | Joseph Jastrow                  |
| Richard Burton                | S. L. Joshi, of India           |
| Ford A. Carpenter             | Horace M. Kallen                |
| John H. Clarke                | H. V. Kaltenborn                |
| P. P. Claxton                 | Florence Kelley                 |
| Marguerite Clement, of France | Paul U. Kellogg                 |
| George W. Coleman             | Basil King                      |
| Ruth White Colton             | Judson King                     |
| Padraic Colum                 | Nicholas Klein                  |
| Edmund Vance Cooke            | Harry W. Laidler                |
| George Clarke Cox             | J. Vint Laughland, of England   |
| Albert F. Coyle               | Lewis E. Lawes                  |
| Algernon S. Crapsey           | Ivy L. Lee                      |
| George Creel                  | William M. Leiserson            |
| Margaret B. Crook, of England | Louis P. Lochner                |
| John Daniels                  | Owen R. Lovejoy                 |
| Tarakanth Das, of India       | Judah L. Magnus                 |
| A. Emil Davies, of England    | Edwin A. Markham                |
| Jerome Davis                  | Alfred W. Martin                |
| Mary Ware Dennett             | Shailer Mathews                 |
| Tyler Dennett                 | John Howard Melish              |
| W. E. B. Du Bois              | John Mez, of Germany            |
| Stephen P. Duggan             | Walter J. Millard               |
| William J. Durant             | Herbert A. Miller               |
| Louis Victor Eytinge          | Fred Atkins Moore               |
| Woodbridge N. Ferris          | Robert J. Moton                 |
| Nathan Fine                   | Dhan Gopal Mukerji, of India    |
| Irving Fisher                 | Haridas T. Muzumdar, of India   |
| John A. Fitch                 | Abraham Myerson                 |
| Charles Fleischer             | George E. MacIlwain             |
| Elizabeth Gurley Flynn        | Walter H. MacPherson            |
| William Byron Forbush         | Joseph Ernest McAfee            |
| Glenn Frank                   | Denis A. McCarthy               |

Francis J. McConnell  
 Allen McCurdy  
 Arthur Nash  
 Scott Nearing  
 Henry Neumann  
 Jean H. Norris  
 George E. O'Dell  
 Moissaye J. Olgin, of Russia  
 H. A. Overstreet  
 Chandler Owen  
 Bertha Papazian  
 Maud Wood Park  
 A. Ray Petty  
 William Pickens  
 Walter N. Polakov  
 John Cowper Powys  
 John Herman Randall  
 Jeannette Rankin  
 S. K. Ratcliffe, of England  
 George L. Record  
 Arthur D. Rees  
 Raymond Robins  
 Bruno Roselli, of Italy  
 Edward A. Ross  
 Charles Edward Russell  
 John A. Ryan  
 Margaret Sanger  
 Nathaniel Schmidt  
 Samuel Schulman  
 Madame Rosika Schwimmer  
 Miriam Finn Scott  
 Willard Scott  
 Edwin R. A. Seligman  
 Dallas Lore Sharp

Abba Hillel Silver  
 Margaret Slattery  
 Fred B. Smith  
 Payson Smith  
 John Spargo  
 Anna Garlin Spencer  
 Frederick Starr  
 Albert W. Staub  
 Edward A. Steiner  
 Charles Stelzle  
 Benjamin Stolberg  
 Anna Louise Strong  
 Frank Tannenbaum  
 Ida M. Tarbell  
 Romeyn Graham Taylor  
 Ordway Tead  
 Norman Thomas  
 Bertrand M. Tipple  
 Nicholas Van Der Pyl  
 David D. Vaughan  
 Oswald Garrison Villard  
 John Ralph Voris  
 Louis Wallis  
 James J. Walsh  
 James P. Warbasse  
 Charles Frederick Weller  
 Arthur J. Westermayr  
 Harvey W. Wiley  
 Talcott Williams  
 Whiting Williams  
 Matthew Woll  
 Louis Wolsey  
 Zade K. Zia, of Turkey

Charles Zueblin (Died Sept. 15, 1924)

**Page School of International Relations,\*** 111 Broadway, New York City.

**The Pathfinders of America**, 311 Lincoln Building, Detroit, Mich. An incorporated organization with branches in Cleveland, New York City, Atlanta, Davenport, San Quentin, and several other cities. Its work is the teaching of "Human Engineering," or scientific character building, operating in grade and high schools and also in many penal and correctional institutions. Its motto is "To know the law and live a life of service to mankind." The Pathfinders are in no sense a religious group and do not use or quote the Bible; neither do they attempt to work through religious institutions of any kind.

President, A. A. Templeton; Executive Secretary and Leader, J. F. Wright.

**Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends**, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Appointed by the Phila-



delphia Yearly Meeting to promote the cause of world peace by educational methods and research.

Chairman, Stanley R. Yarnall; Vice-Chairman, Alfred G. Scattergood; Secretary, Richard R. Wood; Treasurer, Henry W. Comfort.

**The Penguins**, 1712 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. A club organized to serve the needs of liberal-minded people who wish to find a sympathetic atmosphere and meet others having a congenial viewpoint.

Chairman, Gilson Gardner; Vice-Chairman, Abby Scott Baker; Secretary-Treasurer, Frederick R. Barkley.

**People's Legislative Service**, Fendall Building, Washington, D. C. Established to represent the interests of the general public in Washington, just as the special interests are represented. It is not a lobby but a "Facts Service," furnishing facts to all members of the House and Senate who will use them in the public interest. It furnishes facts to affiliated organizations and to the public, performing its work without partisan considerations. It was instrumental in the exposure of the Teapot Dome leases and the record of Charles B. Warren who was subsequently rejected as Attorney General.

Director, Basil M. Manly; Executive Secretary, Helen K. Myers.

**The People's Reconstruction League**, Bliss Building, Washington, D. C. A non-partisan union of farmers and labor organizations and other progressive forces to carry out a program of economic justice which will save the people on farms, in factories, mines, offices, trade and transportation six billion dollars a year.

The League is working as the people's lobby at the National Capital. The officers of the League are: Herbert F. Baker, President; Charles F. Nesbit, Treasurer; Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Secretary.

**Pioneer Youth Movement**. See National Association for Child Development.

**Plumb Plan League**, 10 B Street, S.W., Washington, D. C. Organized in June, 1919, by the executives of the sixteen associated recognized standard railroad labor organizations, with a total membership of more than 1,500,000. The object of the League is to secure government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads of the United States. This was popu-

larly known as the "Plumb Plan," deriving its name from its author, the late Glenn E. Plumb, general counsel for the associated railroad labor organizations.

The Plumb Plan contemplated that the Government should take over the roads, fully compensating the owners according to law; title to be vested in the Government but the roads to be operated by a corporation without capital stock and controlled by a board of directors selected as follows: one-third representing the public, appointed by the President of the United States; one-third representing management or the supervising officials, to be selected by those officials; one-third representing classified employees, to be selected by those employees. The rates would be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission as at present.

In order to encourage economy and efficiency, "savings" would be divided between management and classified employees on the basis of wages paid, the management, however, to receive a larger proportionate return than the classified employees.

It was thought by the railroad workers that in this way the nation might receive the benefits of government ownership while avoiding the evils of bureaucratic control. In other words, politics and politicians would be eliminated and the roads would be conducted for service and not for profit. The actual management would be in the hands of men who had devoted their lives to the transportation industry and who were familiar with its every detail, and the interests of the users of the railroads would be safeguarded in at least three ways: 1. The Government would retain title to the roads and, therefore, Congress could, at any time, amend or repeal the powers granted the corporation organized to operate the lines; 2. The Interstate Commerce Commission, made up exclusively of representatives of the public, appointed by the President, would fix the rates; (3). On the board of directors the public would have one-third of the members and would, therefore, be in a position to pass judgment on the work being done by the representatives of management and classified employees.

Unfortunately, the great mass of the people of this country were never given an opportunity to study the workers' proposal. The newspapers, with a few honorable exceptions, branded the plan as "revolutionary" and indulged in all kinds of misrepresentations, the favorite argument in opposition being that it was an

attempt to "sovietize" the railroads. As a matter of fact, the plan was "made in America" by men who were intensely devoted to the democratic ideals of the Fathers of the republic. They argued that America had given the world political democracy and that it had proved a remedy for the world's major political ills, and they contended that the same principles of democracy would bring peace, economy and efficiency to industry and, at the same time, guarantee the industrial freedom of the workers.

President, Warren S. Stone; Manager, Edward Keating.

See "Industrial Democracy" by Glenn E. Plumb, published by Mrs. Plumb, 5431 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

**Proportional Representation League**, 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia. "To investigate methods of election scientifically and to educate the public in regard to them, to the end that improved methods, which more perfectly carry out the will of electors may be adopted for state legislatures, city councils, and other policy-determining bodies."

The League has collected much evidence that a free and just expression of the electorate is not secured by plurality election of representatives and that it is secured by proportional representation with the single transferable vote (the "Hare system" of "P. R.").

This method is now used in many parts of the world, notably in all important elections of the Irish Free State, and has recently been adopted for city elections by Cleveland and Cincinnati. It gives every group of like-minded voters the same share of the representatives elected that it has of the votes cast. It does this (1) by giving every voter a single vote in a district electing several members, so that each member is elected by a separate group of the district's voters, and (2) by giving the voter a chance to express alternative choices, so that his vote will not be wasted on a candidate who does not need it or cannot use it.

President, Richard S. Childs; Vice-Presidents, Thomas Raeburn White, John R. Commons, Alice Thacher Post; Secretary-Treasurer, C. G. Hoag; Assistant Secretary, George H. Hallett, Jr.; Field Secretary, Walter J. Millard.

**Public Ownership League of America**, 127 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. Concerns itself particularly in safeguarding, and, so far as practical, extending those public institutions,

utilities and natural resources which belong to the public—the schools, roads, the postal service, forests, parks, and playgrounds, the Panama Canal, the Reclamation Service and particularly its great power projects, Muscle Shoals, the Boulder Canyon and other hydro-electric and public superpower possibilities; municipal utilities such as water works, street car lines, light and power plants; and natural resources of coal, oil, gas, timber, water power and waterways such as the St. Lawrence to the Sea and the Lakes to the Gulf and similar great projects. The League works for the conservation of these utilities and resources and their utilization by public agencies in the public service for the common good through public ownership, efficient operation and democratic control.

President, Willis J. Spaulding; Secretary, Carl D. Thompson; Treasurer, Charles H. Ingersoll.

**Rand School of Social Science**, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. A self-governing educational auxiliary of the Socialist and Labor Movement. It is the oldest and largest workers' school in America having been founded in 1906, and has given instruction to many thousands of young men and women, a large proportion of whom are active in the political and industrial organizations of the working class.

The work of the Rand School has been endorsed by the Socialist Party, many unions and other labor organizations. Due to its radical policies it has suffered persecution at the hands of the Lusk Committee and other anti-socialist bodies.

The primary functions of the School are to offer the best opportunities for study of the aims and methods of the labor movement in the economic, and political fields, and to give to participants in the movement such instruction and training as will make them more efficient workers for the cause of labor.

A few of the courses given are: Sociology, History, Economics, Politics, Public Speaking, Psychology, Literature, Drama and Music. Among its enterprises are a book store, a gymnasium and a labor research department which edits the American Labor Year Book. In 1921, Camp Tamiment was opened at Bushkill, Pa., and is maintained as a recreation centre and summer school.

Educational Director, Algernon Lee; Executive Secretary, Bertha H. Mailly.

**Reconciliation Trips**, 403 West 115th Street, New York City. In order to acquaint people with the ideals and aims of others, parties are conducted to various scenes of activities of particular groups such as Oriental, Mystic, Industrial and Labor, Cooperatives, Bread lines, Jewish, Colored and other centers where the work is explained.

Directors, Clarence V. Howell and Ida O. Howell.

**Rochester Labor College**,\* 476 Clinton Avenue, No. Rochester, N. Y.

**Russian-American Industrial Corporation**, 103 East 14th Street, New York City. This Corporation, commonly known as RAIC, was organized for the purpose of assisting in the rehabilitation of industry in Russia. The chief activities undertaken by the corporation are as follows: 1. Investment of RAIC funds in the All Russian Clothing Syndicate which comprises thirty four clothing factories employing 17,500 workers besides controlling numerous selling agencies, scattered all over the Union of Soviet Republics. 2. The perfection of the facilities and arrangements which made possible the transmission of millions of dollars abroad by the Amalgamated Bank of New York and the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago. 3. Making possible the introduction in Russia of American methods of production and efficient modern machinery.

President, Sidney Hillman; Vice-President, Joseph Schlossberg; Secretary-Treasurer, Jacob S. Potofsky; Economic Adviser, Leo Wolman.

**Science League of America**, Liberty Bank Building, San Francisco, Calif. Organized to provide systematic opposition to the attempts of Fundamentalists to have thrown out of our educational institutions all text-books endorsing the theory of evolution; and to prevent the substitution in our schools of the doctrine of special creation, as formulated in the Book of Genesis, for the principle of natural causation revealed by astronomy, geology and biology. At present Genesis is taught in some public schools and evolution in others. Some state legislatures have forbidden the teaching of evolution, and Boards of Education have insisted that the Bible version of creation be taught exclusively.

The League distributes literature and provides illustrated lectures to inform the people of the vast accumulation of facts upon which the theory of evolution is based.



President, Maynard Shipley; Secretary-Treasurer, Conrad J. Biron. Among the directors are Luther Burbank, David Starr Jordan and other scientists.

**Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War,\*** Wellesley Hills, Mass.

**Tax Relief Association of California,** Delta Building, Los Angeles, California. Has for its purpose the definite object of having the legislature submit to the people a constitutional amendment exempting from taxation \$2,000 worth of improvements, and all personal property. Cooperating with it is the Single Tax League.

Secretary, Stoughton Cooley.

**Teachers' Union,** 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The objects are: To provide means for the legal protection of teachers' interests; to protect teachers against oppressive supervision; to increase the efficiency of the schools in democratic education.

"Our object is to educate for democracy and to that end introduce democracy in our educational system which is thoroughly autocratic as it is patterned after the German system which, however, enjoyed greater freedom. From another point of view we believe that educational salvation lies in the direction of collective activities in co-operation with the most dominant social group whose ideals are in harmony with evolutionary progress—the Labor Movement. Hence our affiliation with labor. By affiliation with labor we merge our own work in the broader aims of the professionally organized workers and through such alliance help bring about the social reconstruction we deem necessary and desirable. Such affiliation means broadening not only the horizon of labor but our own horizon since it means conceiving our professional or vocational aims in more general social terms. It is for this reason that the Teachers' Union has been found, in every case, on the side of progress and has fought for Teacher tenure, educational freedom, civil rights, and has opposed the Lusk Laws, censorship of all kinds, etc."

President, Henry R. Linville; Legislative Representative, Abraham Lefkowitz.

**Teachers' Union Auxiliary,** 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. An organization of citizens not teachers who desire to reinforce the Teachers' Union in obtaining decent physical conditions in the schools, eliminate political manipulation in awarding educa-

tional offices and secure the advantages of an experimental school under the Board of Education.

**Trade Union Education League**, 118 No. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.\*

"The standard of living of the workers is threatened! Since the re-election of Coolidge and his Big Business administration, an anti-labor offensive by the employing class has been gradually developing. The fight is now on! Wage-slashing and increases in the workday are points of attack. The workers must defend themselves! One of the first important moves in the capitalist offensive took place at the Amoskeag mills, New Hampshire, the largest textile establishment in the country, where the workers' organizations were unable to resist the arbitrary imposition of drastic wage cuts. Successful in New Hampshire, the offensive has proceeded from one mill town to another—leaving an aftermath of reduced wages and longer hours in Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence, Lowell and the Rhode Island mills.

"Then the wage-cutting offensive developed in the garment trade. Today the garment workers of Cleveland are faced with a concerted move to force down wages; the demands of the Cleveland manufacturers are disguised in the form of a demand for "increasing production," which is a method of lowering wages without saying so. As always, the demand for wage cuts carries with it a demand for greater output. After the workers in the Amoskeag mills had accepted the wage cut, their hours were suddenly lengthened from 50 to 54 a week. Longer hours follow close upon the heels of lowered wages. The whole standard of living of the workers is forced down. The attack on these branches of industry is only the beginning. The attack will continue to take in one group of workers after another. It is a united offensive of the capitalist class!

"Labor must respond with a United Front of its own! There is only one way to resist wage cuts and lengthening of hours—and that is to *resist*. Every attempt to cut wages must be met by a strike. Strengthening and unifying the trade unions is the first step of preparation. The attack on the textile workers was successful because the workers are poorly organized, are divided into many unions, each of them weak without the support of the others. Let us unite for the struggle! A United Front of Labor against the United Front of Capital! No cuts in wages! No lengthening of the workday! Meet every wage cut with a strike!"—Adver-

tisement of the *National Committee, Trade Union Educational League*. Secretary, William Z. Foster.

**Unions**—For addresses of A. F. of L. and other Unions, see American Labor Year Book.

**United Mine Workers of America**, Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

"To unite in one organization, regardless of creed, color or nationality, all workmen eligible for membership, employed in and around coal mines, coal washers, and coke ovens on the American Continent; to increase the wages, and improve the conditions of employment of our members by legislation, conciliation, joint agreements or strikes; to demand that not more than six hours from bank to bank in each twenty-four hours shall be worked by members of our organization; to strive for a minimum wage scale for all members of our Union; to provide for the education of our children by lawfully prohibiting their employment until they have at least reached sixteen years of age; to secure equitable statutory old-age pension and workmen's compensation laws; to enforce existing just laws and to secure the repeal of those which are unjust; to secure by legislative enactment, laws protecting the limbs, lives and health of our members; establishing our right to organize; prohibiting the use of deception to secure strike breakers; preventing the employment of privately armed guards during labor disputes; and such other legislation as will be beneficial to the members of our craft."

President, John L. Lewis; Vice-President, Philip Murray; Secretary-Treasurer, Thomas Kennedy.

**Voluntary Parenthood League**, 27 Cedar Street, New York City, is organized to promote amendments of federal and state laws on the subject of birth control and education regarding parenthood; concentrating, as the first step, on the correction of the Comstock law passed by Congress in 1873.

Director (recently resigned), Mary Ware Dennett; Secretary, Sonia Joseph Bronson.

**War Resisters' International**, 132 West 12th Street, New York City (Care Miss Hughan). An organization of persons in 17 countries who have declared themselves as determined to give no support to any kind of war. Secretary, H. Runham Brown, Fairleigh, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

The United States Section includes the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, the War Resisters' League, the Women's Peace Society, and the Women's Peace Union.

**War Resisters' League.** An enrollment of persons, without regard to age, sex or creed, who have subscribed to the following statements: "I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether it be by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans or using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service."

Secretary, Jessie Wallace Hughan, 132 West 12th Street, New York City; Committee, Edward C. Richards, Edith Clare Bryce Cram, Elinor Byrns, Paul Jones, Olivia Dunbar Torrence, Kathleen Whitaker Sayre, Henry Neumann.

**Wheeler Defense Committee,\*** Lenox Bldg., Washington, D. C., aims to assist Senator Wheeler financially to resist the attacks made upon him by the government after his exposure of corruption, and to protest against the use of executive departments of the Government for personal or party revenge.

Chairman, Norman Hapgood; Treasurer, Elisabeth Gilman.

**Willard Straight Post of the American Legion**, 120 West 42nd Street, New York City. Organized by a group composed of lawyers, journalists and business men, very largely for the purpose of keeping liberal thought alive among the group itself, and serving as an outlet for liberal expression. Its first activities were strenuous protests against denials of free speech so common during the years immediately following the war. It has generally identified itself with liberal movements.

Commander, Mark Wiseman; Secretary, Howard Sachs; Treasurer, Ernest Angell.

**Women's International League for Peace and Freedom**, 1403 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. An organization with the object of "promoting that peace between nations, races, and classes which is based on justice and good will, to outlaw war, to substitute law for war, and to cooperate with women of all countries in carrying out the policies formulated at International Congresses of the League."

The 1924-25 program of the United States Section includes the Outlawry of War, Entrance into the World Court with compulsory jurisdiction, Peace through education, Furtherance of the

fundamental principles of a League of Nations, and Work for a Policy of friendship toward Japan.

International President, Jane Addams; In the United States, Chairman, Hannah Clothier Hull; Vice-Chairman, Emily Greene Balch; Secretary, Amy Woods; Executive Secretary, Dorothy Detzer.

**Women's Peace Society**, 1285 Fifth Avenue, New York City. A non-resistant organization, the underlying principle of which is a belief in the sacredness and inviolability of human life under all circumstances. Members upon joining must declare that they will never aid or sanction any kind of war, whether by making or handling munitions, subscribing to war loans, or supporting any relief organization which condones war. It advocates immediate, universal and complete disarmament and absolute free trade.

Chairman, Fanny Garrison Villard; Vice-Chairman, Jessie Wallace Hughan; Treasurer, Mary Abbott; Secretary, Lina Mayers; Executive Secretary, Dorothy V. Prussin.

**Women's Peace Union**, 180 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Founded on the belief that human life should be held sacred under all circumstances. Members must sign an affirmation stating that it is their intention never to give aid, service or money for war. The Union works against all appropriations for military purposes; for the immediate abolition of the army and navy; and for an amendment to the Constitution that will make it illegal to prepare for or declare war.

Activities are in the hands of the following women: Caroline Lexow Babcock, Elizabeth Black, Elinor Byrns, Elizabeth Ellsworth Cook, Edith Kelly, Alma Biele Leber, Mary B. Orr, Gertrude Franchot Tone, Olivia Dunbar Torrence and Alice Beal Parsons.

**Women's Trade Union League**, 247 Lexington Avenue, New York City. The purpose is to help organize working women in trade unions; to help during organizing campaigns, strikes, lock-outs; to help raise wages, shorten hours, improve conditions in shops and factories; to carry on educational work through evening classes and literature. The League is active in support of 8-hour and minimum wage bills and conducts a free Compensation Service to assist women injured at their work with the securing of proper adjustment of their compensation claims.

President, Rose Schneiderman; Vice-Presidents, Maud Swartz and Mary E. Dreier; Secretary, Mabel Leslie.



**The Woodrow Wilson Foundation**, 17 E. 42nd Street, New York City.\* Created by public subscription in recognition of the national and international services of Woodrow Wilson, twice President of the United States, who furthered the cause of human freedom and was instrumental in pointing out effective methods for the cooperation of the liberal forces of mankind throughout the world. The Award or Awards from the income of the Foundation are made from time to time by a nationally constituted committee to the individual or group that has rendered, within a specified period, meritorious service to democracy, public welfare, liberal thought or peace through justice.

President, Norman H. Davis.

**Workers' Education Bureau**, 476 West 24th Street, New York City.\* Established by trade unionists and teachers "to collect and disseminate information relative to efforts at education conducted by any part of organized labor. . ." Publishes a quarterly, *Workers' Education*.

**Workers' Health Bureau, Inc.**, 799 Broadway, New York City. Organized to serve Labor in the field of health in the belief that the elimination and control of trade dangers and the protection of workers from the ravages of Occupational Diseases are an inseparable part of the Trade Union struggle to improve working conditions. The Bureau secures facts regarding the causes of Occupational Diseases, including chemical analysis of work materials, to determine whether they are injurious to health; assists unions to gain Health standards in trades through agreements with employers; prepares Health Regulations for State codes; interprets Compensation Laws for Occupational Diseases; prepares revisions of laws to secure greater protection for workers; plans cooperative medical departments in the Trade Unions; prepares educational material on Trade Hazards for union members, their prevention and control, and instruction in the care of the body. The Bureau functions as a national office and is supported by trade unions on the basis of a yearly fee of 25c per capita. The trade unions participate on an Advisory Health Council composed of delegates representing affiliated Trades in each state. The Bureau was organized by the present directors: Harriet Silverman and Grace M. Burnham.

**Workers International Industrial Union**,\* Troy, N. Y.

**Workers School**,\* 127 University Place, New York City.

**Workers University** of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Washington Irving High School, 16th Street and Irving Place, and in the I. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

The University consists of classes of advanced instruction on labor, cultural subjects and social sciences. Those who attend these classes have had preliminary training in the Unity Centers run by the Union and elsewhere. The work of this department of the Union is based on a conviction that the aims and aspirations of the workers can be realized only through their own efforts in both the economic and educational fields. While organization gives them power, education gives them the ability to use their power intelligently and effectively.

President, Morris Sigman; Secretary-Treasurer, Abraham Baroff; Executive Secretary, Fannia M. Cohn.

**The Work People's College**, Box 39, Morgan Park Sta., Duluth, Minn. Founded in 1904 by a group of Finns as a theological seminary. In 1908 it was changed into a socialistic institution. As the Finnish Socialist Movement was leaning more and more towards Industrial Unionism as propagated by the I. W. W. the College changed too, until the decision was made—in 1918—to make it an I. W. W. institution. The college is not affiliated with the I. W. W., but as practically all the stock is owned by members of the I. W. W., the policies of that organization are closely adhered to.

The College does not attempt to give a technical or professional education. Its aim is to teach the student to learn to express himself in speech and writing without too much difficulty; to make him acquainted with parliamentary usage, organization bookkeeping and other administrative duties. But the most important object is to give a general knowledge in economics, sociology, and history that will enable him to judge intelligently on all labor problems. This is in accord with the I. W. W. program of having the rank and file decide on all matters, outside of mere routine business. A course in Industrial Unionism and Organization work is part of the curriculum.

Instructor, Kristen Svanum.

**World Peace Foundation**,\* 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

**World War Veterans**, 306 Boston Block, Minneapolis, Minn.

"We demand an immediate investigation by Congress of all war profits exceeding 25 per cent, the sum in excess of the allotted 25 per cent to be "Federalized" and as a bonus distributed by the government to the ex-service men and unemployed generally. We are opposed to any declaration of war by the officials responsible for government, unless the issue be first sanctioned by referendum vote of the people. We are unalterably opposed to any form of compulsory military training in America. We are opposed to any interference, official or unofficial, with any right secured us by the first amendment to the Federal Constitution. We endorse the right of collective bargaining by all truly representative groups in productive industry. We condemn the exploitation of child labor. The Open-Shop, so-called, is anarchic in principle, hypocritical in pretense, cowardly in action, and voices the language of slavery. We oppose the exploitation of the patriotism of the ex-soldier by selfish interests to keep down wages and lower the standards of living. We recognize the right of the farmers as well as the workers of America to advocate and secure for themselves the full product of their labor. We insist upon the right of all peoples' unrestricted freedom to establish and uphold whatever form of government they may deem fit. In this connection we sympathize and share the aspirations of the people of India, Egypt, Ireland, Russia, and with all other people whose desire is freedom. We stand for, and pledge ourselves to the achievement of an Americanism based upon economic, political and social freedom."

**The Young People's Socialist League**, 64 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass., and 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Its purpose is to draw into a compact body all young people interested in the betterment of the working class in order to enable them to better understand capitalist society, to train them in the principles of International Socialism, to assist in the work of Socialist propaganda and political activity. Also, to provide means for intellectual and physical development, and to become a center for social interest.

Membership is open to any person between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.

National Director, Arne J. Parker.

**The Young Workers League of America**, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. The American section of the Young Communist International, a world-wide organization of the revolutionary youth. Politically accepts the jurisdiction of the Communist International and in America the jurisdiction of the Workers (Communist) Party, which is the American section of the Communist International. Its aim is the achievement of the Proletarian Dictatorship. At the present time protests against the Citizen's Military Training Camps and the efforts to introduce military training in the schools. Opposes child labor; advocates the six-hour day and five-day week, equal pay for young workers doing the same work as adults.

National Secretary, John Williamson.

## Chapter 3

### POLITICAL PARTIES

The Republican and Democratic parties have alternated in control of our government since their inception. In 1792-3 one party was called the "Democratic-Republican Party," and in recent years the similarity between the two has again been so marked that a suggestion has been made that they unite as one conservative party to oppose any change in established customs.

Here is a summary of parties that have endeavored to introduce progressive ideas into political campaigns, chronologically arranged.

#### **Prohibition Party**

Organized in 1867, it has steadfastly opposed the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of alcoholic beverages. In addition, it has stood for universal suffrage since 1872, civil service reform four years before the Democratic and twelve years before the Republican Party adopted it; international arbitration in 1876, preceding every other party by thirty-two years, opposition to speculation in Government lands twelve years before the Republicans adopted the idea, uniform marriage and divorce laws since 1888, a non-partisan tariff commission, later adopted by the Progressive Party, income tax in 1896, abolition of child labor in 1908, and public ownership of public utilities. "It has lived to see the triumph of nearly every one of the great reforms which it has championed." In 1892 it polled 264,133 votes. In 1924 its nominees were Herman P. Faris and Marie C. Brehm for President and Vice-President. Its headquarters are at 128 Walnut Street, Harrisburg, Pa.

#### **Greenback Party**

Formed in 1874 to urge suppression of banks of issue and the payment of the United States debt in greenbacks. It nominated for the Presidency Peter Cooper in 1876, James B. Weaver in 1880 and Benjamin F. Butler in 1884. In a sense it was the nucleus of the Populist Party.

#### **Socialist Labor Party**

In 1877, the Socialist Labor Party succeeded the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America which was



started in 1874. This is the older of the two parties claiming to represent Socialism in the United States. It polled 82,000 votes in 1898, 14,398 in 1916 and 31,175 in 1920.

Its principles are based on the division of Society into the possessing or Capitalist class and the dispossessed or Proletarian class. The latter receives from the production of wealth only wages, while the employers appropriate the profit.

The Socialist Labor Party claims that the instruments of production must be owned collectively by the whole people—that is, by the Co-operative Commonwealth, “a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the factors of modern civilization.”

“The Proletariat must, therefore, constitute itself into a political party of its own class, in order to possess itself of the government which . . . will be transformed into a public executive of the administrative measures adopted by a free people.”

In 1924, its presidential candidates were Frank T. Johns and Verne L. Reynolds, who polled 33,901 votes. The headquarters are at 45 Rose Street, New York City. The secretary is Arnold Petersen. Its publication is the Weekly People, \$2 a year; Editor, Olive M. Johnson.

### **The Socialist Party**

Organized in 1901 as a secession movement from the Socialist Labor Party, it had 118,045 members in 1912, dropping to 12,000 in 1923. It polled 919,799 votes in 1920. In 1924 it joined with the Progressives in supporting Senator La Follette, who polled 4,822,319 votes.

*Declaration of Principles*, Adopted in Convention at Cleveland, July, 1924:

The Socialist Party is the party of the workers. It urges the workers to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class, not to establish themselves as a new ruling class, but to abolish forever all class divisions and class rule.

America today is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few. These few are the rulers of America. They are few in number but they dominate the lives of their fellow men. They own our jobs and determine our wages; they control markets and fix prices; they own our homes and fix rents;

they own our food and set its cost; they own the press; they own the government and make our laws; they own our schools and mould the people's minds. The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its socially useable industrial wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the benefit of all.

The Socialist Party advocates the establishment of a system of co-operative and publicly owned and managed warehouses, markets, and credits to promote direct dealing between farmers and city consumers at the cost of the service in their mutual interests. This will reduce the cost of living, will assure to the farmers a proper compensation for their labor, and will enable them to escape from the twin curses of tenantry and mortgaged serfdom.

The socialization of industry, as Socialists conceive it, means more than is commonly understood in the term government ownership: it includes democratic administration through the elected and responsible representatives of the workers in the respective industries and of the workers as a whole.

The bulk of the American people are workers of hand and brain; men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ways of modern civilization. They produce the nation's wealth but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries, but have no voice in their management. They constitute the majority and can right all these social wrongs whenever they learn to use the power of their numbers.

The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing that system.

To do this the workers must be united in a political party and use it to enact such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression; and ultimately to transfer to the people ownership of large scale industries, beginning with those of a public character, such as banking, insurance, mining, transportation, communication, and the trustified industries, and extending the process as rapidly

as conditions will permit, to the end that the exploitation of labor through rent, interest, and profit may finally be abolished.

The workers of town and country must be strongly organized on economic as well as on political lines. The ceaseless struggle of the labor unions and the constructive work of co-operative societies are absolutely necessary, not only for the immediate defense and betterment of the material and social condition of the producing classes, but also to equip them with the knowledge and the habit of self-discipline which they must have in order to administer efficiently the industries of which they are to win control.

It is the bounden duty of every Socialist wage-worker to be a loyal and active member of the union of his industry or trade, and to strive with all his power for the strengthening and solidification of the trade-union movement. It is the duty and the privilege of the Socialist Party and its press to aid the unions in all their struggles for better wages, increased leisure, and better conditions of employment.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly methods, and depends upon education and organization of the masses.

The Socialist Party stands for the mass of the American people. But its interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the destinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous, happy, and free while its neighbors are poor, miserable, and enslaved. The ties of international solidarity are particularly vital among the workers. In all advanced countries the working classes are engaged in an identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is reflected upon the fortunes of all.

The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism, and war. Modern wars are caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggles of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of civilization. The Socialist Party co-operates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, co-operating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

The National office is at 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. The officers are: Eugene V. Debs, National Chairman; Morris Hillquit, International Secretary; Arne J. Parker, Secretary of the Y.P.S.L.; Bertha Hale White, Executive Secretary. National Executive Committee: Victor L. Berger, John M. Collins, Leo M. Harkins, Morris Hillquit, James H. Maurer, George E. Roewer, Jr., Joseph W. Sharts.

#### **Union Labor Party**

Organized February 23, 1887, by representatives of farmers' organizations including members of the Greenback Party. The platform included a graduated land and income tax, government telegraph and railroads, abolition of National banks, free coinage of silver, exclusion of Chinese, woman suffrage, abolition of convict labor in prisons, or employment of armed guards by private corporations. It led to the formation of the People's Party.

#### **Populist or People's Party**

Organized in 1891 by merging the Farmers' Alliance and other associations. Its aims were to increase the circulating medium, free coinage of silver, free trade, an income tax, suppression of monopolies, etc. It nominated for President James B. Weaver in 1892, obtaining 22 electoral votes and in 1904 and 1908 Thomas E. Watson. In 1896 it endorsed William J. Bryan, the Democratic nominee.

#### **Progressive Party**

Organized in 1912 to destroy "invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics." It pledged itself to make amendment of the Constitution easier, and to adopt various methods of social reform. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President and polled 4,119,507 votes.

The LaFollette campaign of 1924 was often referred to as a Progressive Party, and in 1925 that name was selected for State organizations after the convention held in Chicago. See Conference for Progressive Political Action.

### **National Party**

Founded October 4, 1917, by Socialists who supported the war, Single Taxers, Prohibitionists and other radicals. "Recognizing God as the source of all beneficent government it declared for universal suffrage, initiative, referendum and recall, short ballot, proportional representation, prohibition, prison reform, uniform divorce laws, industrial democracy, extinction of land monopoly, public ownership of public utilities and basic industries under democratic management, labor legislation and abolition of secret diplomacy.

"We entered the war to resist international aggression and lawlessness, to establish a permanent basis for international peace, and to aid in the movement toward democracy in all lands. Believing that these aims are coincident with the best interests of all free peoples, and even those of the people of Germany, and confident that this nation will not forget these aims nor permit our forces to be used for conquest or imperialistic oppression, we pledge our full and undivided support to our nation and its allies in the pursuit of these aims." The National Party disbanded in 1919.

### **The Committee of Forty-Eight**

The Committee of Forty-Eight, composed of liberal men and women from the forty-eight states, with headquarters at 15 East 40th Street, New York City, was organized at a series of conferences in New York held between December 1918 and May 1919. A call was sent broadcast from New York headquarters urging those who desired to form a progressive party of opposition to the two old parties to join the committee. So immediate and enthusiastic was the response to that call, that a conference was held in St. Louis in December, 1919 at which a three-plank platform was adopted unanimously. The platform called for the public ownership of transportation and natural resources, the taxation of land held out of use and the restoration of civil liberties.

The conference was historical in that it was the first widespread attempt, following the war, of men and women from all



walks of life to form a serious opposition to the two old parties. At the same time that the Committee of Forty-eight was being formed, the National Farmer-Labor Party was organizing.

The two groups went to Chicago following the nominations of Harding and Cox in 1920. The Committee of Forty-eight met in the Morrison Hotel while the Farmer-Laborites were convening in Carmen's Hall. From the outset it was evident that because of a clash of political philosophies, amalgamation would be difficult, if not impossible. A sincere attempt was made in this direction, however. The Committee of Forty-eight delegates marched over to Carmen's Hall and joined with the Farmer-Laborites. After two heated sessions, Parley P. Christensen was nominated for the Presidency by the convention. The leaders of the Committee of Forty-eight who had favored the nomination of Senator La Follette withdrew and continued to work along the lines originally laid down in their platform and statement of purposes.

When the Conference for Progressive Political Action nominated La Follette and Wheeler at Cleveland on July 5, 1924 the Committee of Forty-eight was prominent among the groups participating in that conference.

The leader of the committee since its inception has been J. A. H. Hopkins. Among the other members are: Howard R. Williams, Charles H. Ingersoll, McAllister Coleman, Otto Cullman, John Haynes Holmes, Horace B. Liveright and Frank Stephens. Its publication is *The Liberal*, Leslie H. Allen, editor.

MCALISTER COLEMAN.

### Communist Party

Organized in 1919 by left-wing members of the Socialist Party who believed revolutionary methods necessary to bring about social reform. In 1920, part of the original members seceded and united with the Communist Labor Party to form the United Communist Party.

There was confusion in Government Departments early in 1920 as to the unlawfulness of the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties, but both were eventually outlawed. The secret meeting of Communists in Michigan in 1922 was illegal and attendance was punished. The United States Department issued the following, March 20, 1920:

"The Communist Party is a member of the Third or Communist International. . . The leaders of the Third International are also officials of the Soviet institutions. . . The aim of the Com-

munist or Bolshevik Party is world-wide revolution and the purpose of the Third International is to propagate revolution and communism throughout the world. Therefore, while the Soviet institutions, as such, may agree to abstain from subversive propaganda abroad, neither the Russian Communist Party nor the Third International would be bound thereby."

See Oppression. See Workers Party.

For platform see American Labor Year Book, 1919-20.

### **Communist Labor Party**

A party organized in Chicago in September, 1919, from "left-wing" elements in the Socialist party of the United States who believed that the change to socialism would be brought about in this country by other than parliamentary action, but who refused to join the recently formed Communist party of America, dominated by Russian language groups. Elements in the Communist Labor Party later went into the United Communist Party, and still later into the Workers Party of America. Its publications were "Class Struggle" and "The Voice of Labor."

### **United Communist Party**

Organized in 1920, being a merger between the Communist Labor Party and one wing of the Communist Party. Recognized by the Third International as the official Communist Party of the United States. Now outlawed. See workers' Party.

### **The National Labor Party (Or Labor Party of the U. S.)**

This party was formed in Chicago in November, 1919, of labor, farmer and cooperative groups, and, the following year, merged in the Farmer-Labor Party. Its program called for the nationalization of unused land, public utilities and certain basic industries. The Farmer-Labor Party ran an independent candidate for president in 1920, and the remnants of the party supported the Progressive ticket in 1924.

### **Farmer-Labor Party**

Organized in July, 1920, at the convention called by the Committee of 48, being a successor to the Labor Party. Parley P. Christensen was nominated for President and received 265,411 votes. In 1923, the Socialist Party was invited to join in a conference but declined. In 1924, no Presidential candidates were nominated, the party joining with the Progressives in support of Robert M. La Follette.

The platform will be sent on request to the Farmer-Labor Party, 715 Ernest & Cramer Bldg., Denver, Colo.

**Proletarian Party**

Organized in June, 1920, and held conventions in 1921 and 1923. It supports the Red International of Labor Unions in its revolutionary aims and works inside the trade unions "to bring about a unification of labor's ranks into a higher form for the conflict with capitalism." It accepts the Communist International with modifications to suit American conditions.

Address, 184 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

**Workers' Party**

Formed at a convention in December, 1921, by Communists who had withdrawn or been expelled from the Socialist Party. The Communist Party continued to exist until April 7, 1923, when it authorized the Workers' Party to succeed it. The membership of the Workers' Party in 1923 was 15,233, and at the close of the year it had raised \$71,497 to start the first Communist daily paper in English, "The Daily Worker," published in Chicago.

It is avowedly a revolutionary party, not paying attention to reform of the present industrial system. Its platform says: "The Workers' Party is fighting for the rule of the thirty millions of workers and their families in the United States. This rule will be established through a Proletarian Revolution which will create a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. . . . It will build up in place of the Capitalist system of production a Communist system of production."

The Workers' Party is fraternally affiliated with the Third Internationale. Its main office is at 1113 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. Its candidates for President and Vice-President in 1924 were William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow who received 33,316 votes. The secretary is Charles E. Ruthenberg who was sentenced to three to ten years in prison for attending the secret Communist meeting at Bridgman, Michigan, in 1922 and started serving his term in January, 1925. He appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, and is out on bail.

**Conference for Progressive Political Action**

Organized in February, 1922, a second conference was held in December, 1922, attended by delegates from Railway Unions, Farmer-Labor and Socialist parties, Non-Partisan Leagues, cooperative societies, single taxers and other progressive groups, excluding the Workers' Party. The Farmer-Labor Party re-

tired from the Conference on account of disagreement as to method.

At the convention in July, 1924, the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette for President was endorsed and Burton K. Wheeler was nominated for Vice-President. The following platform was adopted:

1. The use of the power of the federal government to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

2. Unqualified enforcement of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, press and assemblage.

3. Public ownership of the nation's water power and creation of a public super-power system. Strict public control and permanent conservation of all natural resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands in the interest of the people. Promotion of public works in times of business depression.

4. Retention of surtax on swollen incomes, restoration of the tax on excess profits, taxation of stock dividend profits undistributed to evade taxes, rapidly progressive taxes on large estates and inheritances, and repeal of excessive tariff duties, especially on trust-controlled necessities of life and of nuisance taxes on consumption, to relieve the people of the present unjust burden of taxation and compel those who profited by the war to pay their share of the war's costs, and to provide the funds for adjusted compensation solemnly pledged for the veterans of the World War.

5. Reconstruction of the federal reserve and federal farm loan systems to provide for direct public control of the nation's money and credit to make it available on fair terms to all, and national and state legislation to permit and promote co-operative banking.

6. Adequate laws to guarantee for farmers and industrial workers the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing for the maintenance or improvement of their standard of life.

7. Creation of a government marketing corporation to provide a direct route between farm producer and city consumer and to assure farmers fair prices for their products, and protect consumers from the profiteers in foodstuffs and other necessities of life. Legislation to control the meat-packing industry.

8. Protection and aid of co-operative enterprises by national and state legislation.

9. Common international action to effect the economic recovery of the world from the effects of the World War.

10. Repeal of the Cummins-Esch law. Public ownership of railroads, with democratic operation and with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control.

11. Abolition of the tyranny and usurpation of the courts, including the practice of nullifying legislation in conflict with the political, social or economic theories of the judges. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes and of the power to punish for contempt without trial by jury. Election of all federal judges without party designations for limited terms.

12. Prompt ratification of the child labor amendment and subsequent enactment of a federal law to protect children in industry. Removal of legal discriminations against women by measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women and for the advancement of social welfare.

13. A deep waterway from the great lakes to the sea.

14. We denounce the mercenary system of degraded foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our state department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession seekers engaged in the exploitation of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments and guarantee public referendum on peace and war.

In supporting this program we are applying to the needs of today the fundamental principle of American democracy, opposing equally the dictatorship of plutocracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We appeal to all Americans without regard to partisan affiliation and we raise the standards of our faith so that all of



like purpose may rally and march in this campaign under the banners of progressive union.

The nation may grow in the vision of greed. The nation will grow in the vision of service.

At the convention, February 21, 1925, the railroad brotherhoods announced adherence to the principle of non-partisan political action and withdrew. Socialists also left after demanding a labor party. The remaining delegates adopted the Cleveland platform and decided to organize the Progressive party in the States to meet nationally later in 1925.

La Follette received 4,822,319 votes.

### **The American Labor Party**

Organized in July, 1922, in New York State by a combination of Socialists, members of the Farmer-Labor Party and of labor organizations with an aggregate membership of 200,000. Its purpose is to destroy the power of plutocracy and privilege by public ownership and democratic management of public utilities and natural resources. Address, 231 East 14th Street, New York City.

### **Federated Farmer-Labor Party**

Organized July 3, 1923, at a convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party from which it split off, being the more radical group. Now united with the Workers' Party. Its purpose was the affiliation of trade Unions and farmers, and at the end of 1923 it was supported by organizations having 155,000 members.

See American Labor Year Book, 1923-24.

### **The Commonwealth Land Party**

The Single Tax Party that organized in 1920 and polled 5,837 votes for President, changed its name in 1924 to the Commonwealth Land Party. William J. Wallace and J. C. Lincoln were nominated for President and Vice-President.

The party in its platform demands that the full rent of land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes and that all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor or intellect, be entirely exempt from taxation.

The platform also states that the private ownership of land is a denial of men's right to the earth; that it restricts the conditions under which the landless must produce; that it therefore lessens the return for their efforts and compels the employment of the

entire time and energy of the great mass of mankind to obtain a mere subsistence.

Furthermore, that the struggle for existence is not fundamentally a struggle between capital and labor but between capital and labor on the one hand and land monopoly on the other.

The headquarters are at 3 East 14th Street, New York City.

### **The American Party**

Organized June 3, 1924, at Columbus, Ohio, as an anti-Catholic movement. Its platform starts: "We recognize God the Father Almighty and Jesus Christ, His only Begotten Son, as the rightful Rulers of this universe. . ." Its nominees were Gilbert O. Nations and Charles H. Randall for President and Vice-President.

**Brent Dow Allinson**

In February, 1917, as president of the International Polity Club of Harvard University, Allinson spoke at a public meeting in the Capitol at Washington against the Chamberlain bill for the establishment of universal military training. Later he wrote an open letter to Secretary of War Baker explaining his position as a pacifist. After the passage of the Selective Service Law, Allinson, then a junior at Harvard, registered by mail in Chicago, his home town. In August he took the physical examination. He gave up his college course and remained at home awaiting a notice of military induction. In October, 1917, he was appointed Accounting Officer of the U. S. Fuel Administration for Illinois and served without remuneration to February 8, 1918, when he was offered by the Department of State a position in the diplomatic service in the legation at Berne, Switzerland. He reported at Washington, was given the oath of office, confidential instructions and official passports, and was informed that the State Department had obtained the necessary permit to leave the country from the military authorities.

On February 22, 1918, as Allinson was about to sail, the New York Tribune published an article denouncing him as a pacifist and the State Department for appointing such a man to the diplomatic service. Allinson was recalled to Washington and was dismissed from the service. On April 1 he received an order to report in Chicago for roll call the previous day. Reporting immediately to the headquarters of the Selective Service Law in Washington, he was informed that it would not be necessary to go to Chicago as a transfer of induction could be made. Then followed orders and counter-orders from officials in Washington and Chicago ending in a sudden arrest for desertion at the home of Dr. and Mrs. George W. Nasmyth in the capital on April 20. Without trial he was imprisoned at Camp Grant, Illinois, and compelled to work on coal cars and at road building. On June 17, he was court-martialled on the technical charge of desertion and sentenced to hard labor for the term of his natural life. This sentence was commuted to fifteen years. He was taken in hand-cuffs to the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, where he worked for two years in the steam laundry, tailor shop and rock pile, at times confined in the underground dungeon for days with no bed, covering or food, except bread and water.

While imprisoned he wrote several poems published later in his book, "Youth and Singing Shadows," from the introduction to which by John Haynes Holmes this extract is taken.

## Chapter IV

### A LIBRARY FOR LIBERALS

Some Books That Promote an Understanding of the Present  
Social System and of the Theories That Aim to Establish  
a New and Better Order

Selected by OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

(Any book will be sent postpaid on receipt of the publisher's price by The Arbitrator, 114 East 31st Street, New York City.)

#### SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL PROBLEMS : GENERAL

Addams, Jane. Newer Ideals of Peace. 1907. \$2.25.

Chafee, Zechariah, Jr. Freedom of Speech. 1920. \$3.50.

Croly, Herbert David. Progressive Democracy. 1914. \$2.00.

Darwin, Charles. The Origin of Species. 1859. \$1.25.

Freud, Sigmund. General Introduction to Psychoanalysis. 1920. \$4.50.

Hall, Bolton. The New Thrift. Rev. ed. 1923. \$1.50.

Hinkle, Beatrice Moses. Re-creating the Individual; a Study of Psychological Types and Their Relation to Psychoanalysis. 1923. \$4.50.

Hobhouse, Leonard T. Liberalism. 1911. 90 cents.

Hobson, John Atkinson. Democracy after the War. 2d ed. 1918. \$2.00.

----- Morals of Economic Internationalism. 1920. \$1.00.

----- Problems of a New World. 1921. \$2.50.

----- Work and Wealth. 1914. \$2.75.

Kropotkin, Petr. A. Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution. 1917. \$1.75.

Lansbury, George. Your Part in Poverty. 1917. \$1.00.

Lippmann, Walter. Public Opinion. 1922. \$3.00.

Martin, Everett Dean. The Behavior of Crowds. 1920. \$2.50.

Mill, John Stuart. On Liberty. 75 cents.

Ogburn, William Fielding. Social Change. 1922. \$2.00.

Robinson, James Harvey. The Mind in the Making. 1921. \$2.50.

----- The New History. 1912. \$2.00.

- Russell, Bertrand and Dora.** Prospects of Industrial Civilization. 1923. \$2.00.
- Ryan, John A.** Distributive Justice. 1916. \$2.50.
- Sinclair, Upton.** Mammonart. 1925. \$2.00.
- Soddy, Frederick.** Science and Life. 1920. \$4.00.
- Tawney, Richard Henry.** The Acquisitive Society. 1920. \$1.50.
- Trotter, William.** Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War. 1915. \$1.25.
- Tugwell, Rexford Guy, Editor.** The Trend of Economics. 1924. \$3.50.
- Veblen, Thorstein B.** Engineers and the Price System. 1921. \$1.50
- ..... The Theory of the Leisure Class. 1917. \$2.50.
- Wallace, Alfred Russell.** Social Environment and Moral Progress. 1913. \$1.25.
- Wallas, Graham.** The Great Society. 1914. \$2.25.
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice.** The Decay of Capitalist Civilization. 1923. \$2.00.
- Zimand, Savel.** Modern Social Movements, Descriptive Summaries and Bibliographies. 1921. \$1.50.

## TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

- Eltzbacher, Paul.** Anarchism. 1908. \$1.50.
- Engels, Frederick.** Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. 1901. 50 cents.
- George, Henry.** Progress and Poverty. 1879. New ed. 1899. \$1.25.
- Kropotkin, Petr. A.** Conquest of Bread. 1906. \$1.00.
- Kautsky, Karl.** Social Revolution. 1903. 50 cents.
- Laidler, Harry Wellington.** Socialism in Thought and Action. 1920. \$2.60.
- Levine, Louis.** Syndicalism in France. 2d ed. 1914. \$2.00.
- Postgate, Raymond William.** Bolshevik Theory. 1920. \$2.00.
- Reckitt, Maurice B., and Bechofer, C. E.** The Meaning of National Guilds. 2d ed. 1921. \$2.75.
- Russell, Bertrand.** Proposed Roads to Freedom. 1919. \$1.75.
- Sonnichsen, Albert.** Consumers' Cooperation. 1919. \$2.00.
- Warbasse, James Peter.** Co-operative Democracy. 1923. \$3.50.
- Ward, Harry Frederick.** The New Social Order. 1919. \$1.50.



## PROBLEMS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

- Beard, Charles Austin. *Economic Basis of Politics*. 1922. \$1.25.
- ..... *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. 1913. \$3.00.
- Hobson, John Atkinson. *Taxation in the New State*. 1920. \$1.75.
- ..... *Towards International Government*. 1915. \$1.00.
- Hourwich, Isaac A. *Immigration and Labor*. 2d ed. 1922. \$6.00.
- Howe, Frederic Clemson. *The Modern City and Its Problems*. 1915. \$1.75.
- Hughan, Jessie Wallace. *A Study of International Government*. 1923. \$2.75.
- Jenks, Jeremiah Whipple, and Lauck, W. J. *The Immigration Problem*. 5th ed. 1922. \$3.00.
- Oppenheimer, Franz. *The State*. 2d ed. 1922. \$2.00.
- Russell, Bertrand. *Political Ideals*. 1917. \$1.75.
- Taussig, Frank William. *Tariff History of the United States*. 6th ed. 1914. \$1.75.
- Wallas, Graham. *Human Nature in Politics*. 3d ed. 1921. \$3.00.
- Weyl, Walter. *American World Policies*. 1917. \$2.50.
- Wilcox, Delos Franklin. *Government by All the People*. 1912. \$2.00.
- Zueblin, Charles. *American Municipal Progress*. Rev. ed. 1916. \$2.75.

## PROBLEMS OF LABOR

- Beard, Mary Ritter. *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*. 1920. \$1.50.
- Brissenden, Paul F. *The I. W. W., a Study of American Syndicalism*. 2d ed. 1920. \$4.00.
- Brooks, John Graham. *Labor's Challenge to the New Social Order*. 1920. \$2.50.
- Commons, John R., and others. *History of Labor in the United States*. 1918. 2 vol. \$10.50.
- Douglas, Paul Howard, and others. *The Workers in Modern Economic Society*. 1923. \$4.50.

- Hamilton, Walton, and May, Stacy.** Control of Wages. 1923. \$1.50.
- Holmes, John Haynes.** Is Violence the Way Out of Our Industrial Disputes? 1920. \$1.25.
- Interchurch World Movement.** Report on the Steel Strike of 1919. 1920. \$2.50.
- Kropotkin, Petr. A.** Fields, Factories and Workshops. 1913. 75 cents.
- Marot, Helen.** The Creative Impulse in Industry. 1918. \$1.50.
- Nearing, Scott.** The Solution of the Child Labor Problem. 1911. \$1.00.
- Plumb, Glenn Edward and Roylance, W. G.** Industrial Democracy. 1923. \$2.00.
- Robertson, Dennis Holme.** The Control of Industry. 1923. \$1.25.
- Williams, Whiting.** What's on the Worker's Mind. 1920. \$2.50.

#### WOMAN AND THE FAMILY. SEX PROBLEMS

- Anthony, Katharine.** Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia. 1915. \$1.35.
- Blatch, Harriot Stanton and Stanton, T.** Elizabeth Cady Stanton. 1924. 2 vols. \$12.00.
- Carpenter, Edward.** Love's Coming of Age. 1918. 70 cents.
- Ellis, Havelock.** The Task of Social Hygiene. 1912. \$3.50.
- ..... The Problem of Race-Regeneration. 1912. 50c.
- Forel, Auguste Henri.** The Sexual Question. 1922. \$6.00.
- Gilman, Charlotte Perkins.** Women and Economics. 1907. \$1.50.
- Key, Ellen.** The Century of the Child. 1909. \$1.50.
- ..... The Woman Question. 1918. 70 cents.
- Kirchwey, Freda, Editor.** Our Changing Morality. 1925. \$2.50.
- Mayreder, Rosa Obermayer.** A survey of the Woman Problem. 1913. \$1.50.
- Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews.** The Family. 1906. \$3.00.
- Sanger, Margaret.** The Pivot of Civilization. 1922. \$2.00.
- Schreiner, Olive.** Woman and Labor. 1911. \$1.25.
- Shaw, Anna Howard.** The Story of a Pioneer. 1915. \$2.00.
- Westermarck, Edward Alexander.** The History of Human Marriage. 5th ed. 3 vols. 1922. \$25.00.

## THE NEGRO

- Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. *Darkwater*. 1920. \$2.25.  
 ----- *Souls of Black Folk*. \$2.00.  
 Morel, Edmund Deville. *The Black Man's Burden*. 1920.  
 \$1.50.  
 Seligman, Herbert Jacob. *The Negro Faces America*. 1920.  
 \$2.50.

## WAR AND NON-RESISTANCE

- Case, Clarence Marsh. *Non-violent Coercion*. 1923. \$3.00.  
 Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes. *War: Its Nature, Cause and  
 Cure*. 1923. \$1.50.  
 Holmes, John Haynes. *New Wars for Old*. 1916. \$2.00.  
 Howe, Frederic Clemson. *Why War?* 1916. \$2.00.  
 Page, Kirby. *War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure*. 1923.  
 \$1.50.  
 Russell, Bertrand. *Why Men Fight*. 1917. \$1.75.

## RELIGION

- Brown, William Montgomery. *Communism and Christianity*.  
 1920. 25 cents.  
 Holmes, John Haynes. *New Churches for Old*. 1922. \$2.00.  
 Hunter, Robert. *Why We Fail as Christians*. 1919. \$1.60.  
 Rauschenbusch, Walter. *Christianizing the Social Order*. 1912.  
 \$2.00.  
 Sinclair, Upton. *The Profits of Religion*. 1918. \$1.20.  
 White, Andrew D. *History of the Warfare of Science with  
 Theology*. 2 vols. \$6.00.

## EDUCATION

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**The War Guilt and Peace Crime of the Entente Allies.** Stewart E. Bruce. 50 cents.  
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**Age of Reason.** Thomas Paine. 50 cents.



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- Partial list of publications identified with social progress:
- Amalgamated Almanac**, annual, 31 Union Square, New York City. \$1.
- Advocate of Peace**, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. Monthly. \$2 a year. Arthur Deerin Call, Editor.
- American Federationist**, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. William Green, Editor. \$1 a year.
- American Labor Legislation Review**, 131 E. 23rd Street, New York City. Quarterly. \$3 a year. John B. Andrews, Editor.
- Arbitrator**, 114 East 31st Street, New York City. Monthly. 60 cents a year. William Floyd, Editor.
- Advance**, 31 Union Square, New York City.
- American Labor Monthly**, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City. \$1 a year.
- Appeal to Reason**—See Haldeman-Julius Weekly.
- American Vanguard**, Leesville, La.
- American Child**, 1230 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
- Birth Control Review**, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Monthly. \$2 a year. Margaret Sanger, Editor.
- Bulletin of the Consumers League**, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
- Brookwood Review**, Katonah, N. Y.
- Co-operative Student**, 396 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Co-operation**, 167 W. 12th Street, New York City. \$1 a year. James Peter Warbasse, Editor.
- Chicago Socialist**, 1501 Warren Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
- Citizen**, 156 Barrett Street, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Crisis**, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Monthly. \$1.50 a year. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor.
- Crusader News Service**, 2299 Seventh Avenue, New York City.
- Christian Century**, 508 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago.
- Dallas Craftsman**, Labor Temple, Young Street, Dallas, Texas.
- Daily Worker**, 1113 W. Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- Dial**, 152 W. 13th Street, New York City. Monthly. \$1.50 a year. Scofield Thayer, Editor.
- Equitist**, Phoenix, Arizona. Weekly. \$1.50 a year. W. E. Brokaw, Editor.
- Equity**, 115 West 47th Street, New York City.
- Equal Rights**, Capitol Hill, Washington, D. C. \$2 a year.
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- Federated Press, Labor Letter**, 156 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. \$2 a year. Carl Haessler and Leland Olds, Editors.
- Foreign Affairs**, 25 W. 43rd Street, New York City.
- Farmer-Labor Voice**, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

- Farm & Labor**, Watertown, N. Y.  
**Farm & Labor Journal**, Waco, Texas.  
**Farmer-Labor State Record**, 220 Main Street, Bismarck, N. D. Weekly. \$2.50 a year.  
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**Golden Age**, 18 Concord Street, Brooklyn, New York City. C. J. Woodworth, Editor. \$1 a year.  
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**Haldeman-Julius Monthly**, Girard, Kansas. \$1.50 a year.  
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**Industrial Pioneer**, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Monthly. Vern Smith, Editor. \$2 a year.  
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**International Conciliation**, 407 W. 117th Street, New York City. 25 cents a year.  
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**Irish People**, 100 W. Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill.  
**Issues of Today**, 140 Cedar Street, New York City.  
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**Justice**, 3 W. 16th Street, New York City.  
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**Llano Colonist**, Leesville, La.  
**Locomotive Engineers Journal**, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Building, Cleveland, Ohio. Monthly. \$1.50 a year.  
**Labor Herald** (see *Worker's Monthly*).  
**LaFollette's Magazine**, Madison, Wisconsin. Monthly. \$1 a year.  
**Labor Student**, 7 E. 15th Street, New York City. \$1 for two years.  
**Labor Age**, 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City and Harrisburg, Pa. Monthly. \$2 a year.  
**Labor Press**, 799 Broadway, New York City.  
**Labor News**, York, Pa.  
**Labor Monthly**, Room 15, 192 Broadway, New York City.  
**Land and Freedom**, 150 Nassau Street, New York City. \$1 a year. Joseph Dana Miller, Editor.  
**League of Nations Herald**, 6 E. 39th Street, New York City.  
**Labor**, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C. \$1 a year.  
**Liberal**, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. Monthly. \$1 a year. Leslie Allen, Editor.  
**Liberator** (see *Worker's Monthly*).  
**Menorah Journal**, 167 W. 13th Street, New York City.  
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**Messenger of Peace**, Richmond, Ind. \$2 a year.

- Messenger**, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City.  
**Midland Empire Co-operative Pub. Co.**, Billings, Mont.  
**Milwaukee Leader**, 6th and Chestnut Streets, Milwaukee, Wis.  
**Minneapolis Labor Review**, 427 Sixth Street, S., Minneapolis, Minn.  
**Minnesota Daily Star**, Minneapolis, Minn.  
**Money**, 2 East 23rd Street, New York City.  
**Modern Quarterly**, 318 N. Exeter St., Baltimore, Md. \$1.00 a year. V. F. Calverton, Editor.  
**N. Y. Labor News**, 45 Rose Street, New York City.  
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**Proportional Representation Review**, 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 80 cents a year.  
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- Searchlight**, Lenox Building, Washington, D. C. Monthly \$2 a year. Lynn Haines, Editor.
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- Social World**, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
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- Soviet Russia Pictorial** (see *Workers Monthly*).
- Social Service Bulletin**, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Winifred Chappell, Editor.
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- Survey Graphic**, 112 E. 19th Street, New York City. Monthly. \$3 a year.
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- Workers Monthly** (combining *Labor Herald*, *Liberator* and *Soviet Russia Pictorial*), 1113 W. Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. \$2 a year.

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